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CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Published by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand, London.

THE LIFE
AND
ADMINISTRATION
OF
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

BY JOHN GALT.

LONDON:

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1812.

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P R E F A C E.

SEVERAL years ago, while standing in the great quadrangle of Christ Church College, in Oxford, I happened to reflect, that although Cardinal Wolsey was one of the most conspicuous personages of an eventful age, no history of his life had yet been written, which showed the influence of his character in its proper light. Without being aware of the extent of reading requisite for an undertaking necessarily descriptive of the spirit of those times, I began to collect materials for supplying the desideratum at my leisure; and before my departure for the south of Europe, besides volumes of notes and documents, I had composed a narrative; but, as my opinion respecting the manner in which the life of a statesman ought to be written

underwent some change during my absence, on my return I was induced to re-model the whole of what I had previously prepared for publication ; and instead of a work embracing the biography of other persons, to present one in which the hero should always appear prominent. I now offer it to the Public with much unfeigned diffidence ; because, although I have endeavoured to render it worthy of some attention, I may be disappointed in my expectation.

To the officers of the British Museum I am under great obligations, for the facility afforded to my researches ; and the gentlemen of Jesus College, Oxford, in the politest manner, gave me access to the papers from which Lord Herbert compiled his History of Henry VIII. My friend, Mr. Tilloch, allowed me the use of several very rare and curious books ; but I owe more to his own recondite knowledge than I could have obtained from any library, without a guide, so learned, communicative, and obliging. I have also had the advantage of having the sheets revised by Mr. Nichols, of whose very exact and minute knowledge of English Antiquities the Public are sufficiently acquainted ; and I owe to several private

friends different important hints and interesting suggestions. Nor ought I to omit mentioning, that during my stay in Palermo I was enabled occasionally to prosecute my historical inquiries in the magnificent library of the Jesuits in that capital; and that father Gusta, the librarian, a man of the most extensive reading, had the kindness to point out the works that were calculated to afford me information.

With all these aids, and with materials of great magnitude and variety, it may excite surprise that I should have produced so small a work; and particularly that I should have omitted many events well known to the most cursory reader of English history, while I have attached consequence to minor affairs. But I have endeavoured to imitate the classic models of antiquity, as I think that it is only the necessary succession of events which interests posterity; and that many transactions in which Wolsey was incidentally engaged, belonged less to his memoirs than to those of others.

The Appendix, considering the extent of the text, occupies perhaps an undue proportion of the volume; but the documents that it contains are cu-

rious in themselves ; and besides verifying my own views and statements, serve to illustrate Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. and form an interesting commentary on an important portion of Dr. Robertson's Charles V. and Mr. Roscoe's Leo X.

London, 25th May, 1812.

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L I F E
OF
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

BOOK I.

EUROPE, during the predominance of the papal authority, formed, in reality, but one general state, in which the civil and military institutions were subordinate to the ecclesiastical. The submission yielded to secular superiors, was modified by the various tenure of feudal property. No laws existed which the whole of the community conceived themselves equally bound to maintain, but such as issued from the apostolical throne. By whatever names the provinces of Christendom were distinguished, empires, kingdoms, or republics, the people and their rulers alike acknowledged themselves subjects of the pontiff. Royalty did homage to superstition; nor was the crown itself allodial, but held of the tiara.

II. The means by which the papal power was upheld and exercised, were as wonderful as the alleged extent of its prerogatives. A portion of mankind assumed privileges pernicious to the rights of the common race ; and the humblest member, of that class, might aspire to supreme command. As inducements to submission, the priesthood promised, to all who would most slavishly obey its authority, rewards which the vicissitudes of life could not affect. Man surrendered his reason, and yielded a degree of implicit obedience to the pope, such as never existed under any other government. The management of all concerns, in consequence, became entrusted to the officers of his Holiness ; and in the fulness of the ecclesiastical usurpation, the clergy may be described as constituting the will and mind of the political body.

III. The long, bloody, and proscriptive wars between the royal families of York and Lancaster, reduced the antient importance of England as a province of Christendom, and, naturally, gave a preponderance to military rule over an authority founded on opinion.—The restoration of peace and order was favourable to the church ; and under Henry VII. the clergy began to recover their wonted influence, and to put forth their former pretensions ; but the people, during the civil conflicts, had acquired a military licentiousness of thought, and the church was no longer regarded with the veneration which she had once inspired. In the state, churchmen still attained the highest offices. They were, however, generally regarded as the members of an order, arrogant by the possession of exorbitant privileges, and averse to the social interests of the species. Their conduct was viewed with a distrustful and inquisitorial eye.

IV. The civil wars also operated to the diminution of the personal influence and manorial jurisdiction of the barons. Proscriptions led to changes in the possession of domains. The feudal tenants, accustomed to look upon the hereditary lord of the manor as their natural and rightful superior, viewed his removal as oppression, and considered his successors as usurpers. The antient ties of connexion between the chiefs and the vassals, were, generally, relaxed, and, in many instances, entirely dissolved. The nobles were divided into two factions; and as the houses of York and Lancaster alternately prevailed, each faction was, in its turn, doomed to suffer the vengeance of its rival. They found it necessary, also, to be more around the king than when the succession was not disputed: — his friends to maintain his cause — the moderate to avoid suspicion — and his adversaries to watch opportunities of promoting the designs of their own faction. The splendour of the court was thus augmented; but the absence of the nobility from their castles, weakened the whole structure of the feudal system which supported the oligarchy, and impaired for ever that formidable power which had resulted from a constant intercourse of affection and authority between the lords and their vassals. The reign of Henry VIII. was not only the most magnificent in the annals of England, but, also, that in which the king exercised the greatest latitude of prerogative, and in which the nobility possessed the least influence. It was later before the full extent of the good, ordained to spring from the evil of the disputed succession, manifested itself among the people.

V. Although the court presented a scene of gorgeous pageantry unknown in any former period, the personal animosities and fierce altercations of the civil wars, had produced among the courtiers rude and obstreperous manners. They indulged in a rough plainness of address, almost, as different from the ceremonious courtesy of chivalry, as the easy politeness which has since succeeded. England never exhibited such superb spectacles of knighthood as in the reign of Henry VIII.; but lists and tournaments were no longer regarded as courts of equity, nor the fortune of arms a more accurate criterion of guilt and innocence than the verdict of civil tribunals. All the parade of chivalry was renewed, but the spirit had departed with the circumstances which had called it forth. To profess the sentiments which it had antiently inspired, was not, indeed, ridiculous*, but the vows and pageants which added a gallant dignity to unlettered valour, ceased to be objects of serious concern; and were only imitated for the amusement of the king.

VI. The civil wars were not more favourable to the advancement of learning, than to the authority of the nobility and clergy. During the reign of Henry VI. polite literature had made some progress. His pacific disposition had led him to foster the arts which contribute to the pleasures of life; but from the date of his dethronement they began to decline, and the universities ceased to recognize the muses. What was called philosophy consisted in the agitation of logical subtilties, founded, commonly, on mere verbal distinctions,

* Cervantes was not born till the year 1547, nor Don Quixote published in Spain till 1605.

which sharpened, without informing, the understanding. The general notion entertained of science was, of something infinitely beyond ordinary uses. It was wrapt up in language, almost, as mysterious as the egyptian hieroglyphics; and nothing less was expected from it than a knowledge of future events, and the power of conferring wealth and immortality*. In these vain pursuits, many important

* ASTROLOGY has long, by the absurd pretensions of its professors, been so, effectually, consigned to oblivious contempt, that the books which treat of its principles are, rarely, to be found even in libraries of curious literature, and are never enquired for without provoking a sort of compassionate ridicule not easily withstood. And yet the study itself, as professing to discover, by celestial phenomena, future mutations in the elements and terrestrial bodies †, ought not to be despised. The theory of the tides is, altogether, an astrological doctrine, and, long before the days of Sir Isaac Newton, was as well understood as it is at this moment. The correspondence which the antient physicians alleged to exist between the positions of the moon and the stages of various diseases, has certainly received a degree of confirmation, auspicious to a modified revival of the doctrine of celestial influences ‡. It is not a just philosophy which rejects as vain what appears to be improbable. Though many things, of which the astrologers speak, be, apparently, fanciful, they are not the less worthy of being examined. They have asserted, that the fits of a particular kind of madness are governed by the moon; that her rays quicken the putrefaction of animals §; that persons are rendered dull and drowsy who sleep abroad in the moonlight; that vegetables sown in the spring of the moon, differ in flavour from the same kind sown in her wane; that vines pruned during her conjunction with the sun, shoot forth a less rank foliage afterwards; and that timber felled, at the same time, endures longest uncorrupted ||. They have also

† Sir Christopher Heydon's *Defence of Astrology*, p. 2. Ed. 1603.

‡ Dr. Mead's *Treatise concerning the influence of the sun and moon upon human bodies*, &c.

§ Heydon, p. 425.

|| Ibid. p. 186.

facts, it is true, were ascertained ; but they were passed over unheeded and unvalued. Divinity was the only study that tended to advance

alleged that oysters, crabs, and all testaceous fish, grow fat and full with the waxing of the moon, and dwindle with her waning. That she has an influence on the procreation of mares and horses ; and that children born at the time of new moon are always short-lived. Any man, possessing patience and inclination, might, so easily, ascertain the fact of these things, that it is surprising they should be still pronounced incredible, and denied rather than contradicted.

“ Yet safe the world and free from change doth last ;
 No years increase it, and no years can waste.
 Its course it urges on, and keeps its frame,
 And still will be, because 'twas still the same.
 It stands secure from Time's devouring rage,
 For 'tis a God, nor can it change with age.”

And, therefore, say the astrologers, a correspondence and coincidence must exist throughout the universal phenomena ; as in the machinery of a clock, in which the state of one part indicates what has passed, or, is to happen in another.

The principles of Astrology, like those of every other science, must have been founded on some species of experience. The first occurrences that, probably, attracted observation, would be those that naturally had some, apparent, concordance with the great luminaries and planets, such as the seasons of the year, &c. The tides, varying with the phases of the moon, would early obtain attention : their regular increase, corresponding to her opposition and conjunction, would lead to the consideration of the solar influence. Thence, perhaps, it was observed, that when certain planets were in particular constellations, and the sun in certain signs of the zodiac, the tides were otherwise affected. Hence the qualities of the planetary influence came to be studied.

A transition from the tides to the variations of the atmosphere, if they did not first attract notice, was very natural ; and as valetudinarians are particularly affected

the progress of the public mind; and the art of printing favoured the prevalent bias of the age, by multiplying the materials and excitements of controversy.

by the weather, the progress towards that branch of astrology which relates to diseases would be the consequence.

If the diseases of man be regulated by the stars, why not his passions also? And, as his passions govern his actions, making one class of motives more acceptable than another, why not by the means of his passions regulate his fortune? Fortune is but another name for situation, and men are evidently allured into their various circumstances or situations by their passions. The next inquiry would, naturally, therefore, be, to ascertain from what particular aspects of the skies the varieties of fate and character proceed. Hence the theory of nativities, and that branch of the study which has brought the whole into such disrepute. Ptolemy had vainly warned his followers not to foretell particularly, but universally, as one that seeth a thing afar off; but, not content with telling particularly, they alleged, in the very face of their fundamental position, that man possessed a power of altering his destiny, by affirming that his will was free, and that he had the power of choice and election, forgetting that the foreknowledge of an apprehended future evil, generated a motive which might lead to the adoption of the conduct by which it was avoided.

The notion of the *unalterability* of the world, as the atheistical astrologers entertained it, is at once curious and absurd, and warranted inferences which they would not, perhaps, have readily admitted. Proceeding upon the supposition that there does exist such a concordance in the universe as they maintained, it is obvious, from the motions of the earth, and of the system to which she belongs, that no two astrological observations could be found in the course of many ages precisely similar: a general resemblance of effect is the utmost that could be obtained, until in the progress of the various movements of the whole universe, the earth, in all respects, came again to the situation which she held, in relation to every other part, when the first observation was made. When she has done this, it must be allowed

VII. Besides the civil wars, exterior events had contributed to alter and expand the views of the english nation. The riches which

from the premises, that a new series of effects will commence, in every thing resembling the past. History having finished her tale, will begin to repeat it; and persons and events under the same names, and in the same forms, as those of whom we have heard, will appear: yea even fortune-tellers, as foolish as those who have rendered Astrology ridiculous, will come again; and an essay, in no single phrase, point, or circumstance, different from this, will, after the lapse of innumerable ages, be perused by such another being as thee, O courteous Reader!

The Professors of ALCHEMY have written the records of their processes, in a language of types and symbols, as inscrutable as that of the priests of Anubis. Whether they did or did not possess the art of making gold, may be fairly questioned, until the knowledge of their secrets is complete, and their experiments have been renewed; but that no natural impediment exists to the attainment of the art, Mr. Davy has gone far to shew. From the reported testimony of one of themselves, it would appear that, the hope of making an immortalizing elixir was not seriously entertained by the Alchemists. The utmost which they professed to make, was a cordial which should refresh and preserve the animal spirits, when the frame was not vitally impaired. Possibly, extricated from the cabalistic technical jargon which they used, their studies may have been both rational and ingenious; at least an opinion of them ought not to be formed from the ridicule which ignorant pretenders so justly provoked. John Frederick Helvetius, doctor and practitioner of medicine at the Hague, in the year 1666, gives a curious account of a conversation which he had with an Alchemist on the subject of the Stone and the Elixir, and which he introduces with a description of the Alchemist's person, that, even in the bad translation before me, has the merit of being remarkably vivid and natural.

The doctor inquired whether, by the use of that elixir which Elias affirmed was known to the Alchemists, the pristine nature of man may be converted into a new one, the sad into cheerful? "Not at all, Sir," said the artist, "for so great power was

Portugal had obtained by exploring the passage to India, inspired Spain with adventurous emulation ; and her enterprises were recom-

never conferred on any medicament, that it could change the nature of man. Wine inebriating, taken by diverse individual men, in him who is drunk changeth not his nature, but only provokes, and deduceth into act what is naturally and potentially in him, but before was, as it were, dead. Even so is the operation of the universal medicine, which, by recreation of the vital spirits, excites sanity, for a time only suppressed, because it was naturally in him before ; even as the heat of the sun changeth not herbs or flowers, but only provokes the same, and from the proper potential nature of them deduceth them into act only : for a man of a melancholy temper is again raised to exercise his own melancholy matters ; and the jovial man, who was pleasant, is recreated in all his cheerful actions ; and so, consequently, in all desperate diseases it is a present or most excellent preservative." Soon after he adds, " But if any prolongation of life by some philosophic medicament could have been induced against the predestination of the omnipotent God, undoubtedly neither Hermes, Trismegistus, or Paracelsus, or Raymund Lully*, or count Bernhard, and many more like illustrious possessors of this great mystery, would not have yielded to the common death of all mortals, but, perhaps, have protracted their life until this very day. Therefore it would be the part of a fanatic and foolish man to affirm this, yea of a most foolish man to believe and assent to the same, touching any one medicament in the things of nature."

Presently the conversation changed to the transmutation of metals, and Helvetius affirms that Elias gave him a specimen of the philosophers' stone, with which he performed a successful experiment. Helvetius himself does not appear to have been an alchymist ; he was unacquainted with the subjects of which Elias spoke, and had written a book against sir Kenelm Digby, who professed to make a sympathetic powder which could cure wounds at a distance. In refuting the pretensions of sir Kenelm, he had made use of some expressions relative to the

* Raymund Lully is said to have taught Edward III. the art of making gold. Sinclair, *Hist. Revenue*, p. 75, Ed. 1785.

pensed by the attainment of a new world. This great achievement roused throughout Christendom a similar spirit*. Avarice overcame Ambition in the councils of princes; and sovereigns and subjects, alike, eager to participate in the golden regions of the West, promoted the moral independence of man, by cultivating the means of commerce. A new order was, in consequence, destined at this æra to arise in society, by which, in time, the policy of nations, the motives of war, and the modes of rule, were to be radically changed. Hitherto, the power of our kings had depended on their territorial possessions, and the influence of our nobles, on the breadth and fertility of their estates: but the mercantile order, by gradual accumulation, has since attained an ascendancy in the realm equal to that pursuits of alchemy, which induced Elias to call on him.—*Golden Calf*, pp. 99, 100, ed. 1670. A good name for such a book!

The Rosicrucians were a particular order of Alchemists, and professed to be able to transmute the metals. The names of secret substances employed in the process, were communicated to the members at their admission into the society, or, rather, the meaning of the symbolical language by which the materials were described was explained to them, and it was the use of that language which gave rise to the opinion, that the Rosicrucians held particular notions relative to spirits. They were, in fact, a society of experimental philosophers, and used, according to the fashion of the age in which the society was founded, a cabalistic mode of expression, in order to enhance the merits of their knowledge. This society is still supposed to have some sort of an existence; but whether its members believe they possess the key to the symbolical language, and are able to convert common into precious metals, is not easy to be ascertained. I have met with a gentleman who said he was a Rosicrucian. There is a dictionary, in French, which says, that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* describe alchymical processes. I have not been able to meet with it.

* Henry VIII. was the first english king who established a navy. Ships, before his time, were hired from the merchants. The Trinity house was instituted in 1512.

of the clergy and nobility, and reduced to its subserviency the prerogatives of the crown itself. In the reign of Henry VIII. this class had, it is true, not assumed any recognizable form; but the principles which, by subsequent developement, induced all its importance, began to affect the designs and treaties of the government.

VIII. This state of the clergy and nobility, of manners, and learning, and trade, afforded ample scope for the exercise of an ambitious, resolute, ostentatious mind. The following narrative is an attempt to delineate the operations of a character indisputably of this description, and to exhibit a view of the influential events, by which it was governed, in a period full of great emergencies, and fraught with changes affecting the interests, perhaps, of the whole human race,—a period which, like the present momentous age, may be regarded as one of those vast occasional eddies in the mighty current of human affairs, by which homes and inheritances are overwhelmed and swept away, but which, as the violence subsides, never fail to leave, behind, inestimable riches for the use and improvement of society.

IX. Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich, in the month of March, 1471*. His father†, though of mean condition, possessed some property. Persuaded of the apt and active genius of his son, he sent him early to school, and destined him for the service of the church. Wolsey, at the age of fifteen, was a student in Oxford, and obtained the degree of bachelor in arts, which procured him, at the university, the name of the boy bachelor. Few, so young,

* Parish Registers were not instituted in England till 1535.

† It does not appear to be well authenticated that he was a butcher. See his will in Fiddes' Coll. No. 1.

with all the advantages of rank and affluence, attained, in that age, academical honours*. Continuing to prosper in philosophy, he was elected a fellow of Magdalen college, appointed master of the school†, and entrusted to educate the sons of the marquis of Dorset. The

* Cardinal Pole, at the same age, was also made a B. A. His high birth, as well as his great talents, might have had some effect in procuring this distinction.

† Storer, who published his biographical poem of *Wolsey* in 1599, describes his feelings, in this situation, in a lively and tasteful manner.

“This silver tongue, methought, was never made
With rhetoric’s skill to teach each common swain.
These deep conceits were never taught to wade
In shallow brooks ; nor this aspiring vein
Fit to converse among the shepherd train :
I could not girt me, like a worthless groom,
In coarser garment, wove of country loom.

“Just cause I saw my titles to advance,
Virtue my gentry, priesthood my descent,
Saints my allies, the cross my cognizance,
Angels the guard that watched about my tent,
Wisdom that ushered me where’er I went.
These are our honours, though the world withstand ;
Our lands and wealth are in another land.

“Yet, as through Tagus’ fair, transparent streams,
The wondering merchant sees the sandy gold ;
Or, like to Cynthia’s half-obsured beams
In silent night, the pilot doth behold
Through misty clouds and vapours manifold ;
So, through a mirror of my hope for gain,
I saw the treasure which I should obtain.”

proficiency which the young noblemen made under his tuition, and his own conversational accomplishments, displayed while passing the christmas holidays with their father, procured him the patronage of the marquis, who afterwards rewarded him with the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire.

X. He was at this time burser of Magdalen college; but having, without a sufficient warrant, applied the funds to complete the great tower of the buildings, he found himself obliged to resign. The tower is one of the ornaments of Oxford, and may be regarded not only as a specimen of his taste in architecture, but as a monument of that forward spirit, and intrepid disrespect of precedents, which he so amply manifested in greater affairs.

XI. His disposition, frank and social, often led him to scenes and enjoyments unbecoming the grave regularity of the ecclesiastical profession. He had not resided long at Lymington, before he was found concerned in the riots of a fair in the neighbourhood; for which one of the justices of the peace subjected him to disgraceful punishment*. Whether this was just or inconsiderate, it could not but serve to

* Fiddes mentions that he was put in the stocks; but Cavendish says, only, that sir Amias Paulet laid him by the heels. Fiddes may have been misled by a marginal note of Stowe.

I find that I have made another memorandum, after reading the MS copy of Cavendish, in the Harleian library. "Mem.—Wolsey mentioned himself, when at Lymington, in order to be installed, that he was called the Boy Bachelor. Sir Amias Paulet took an occasion of displeasure against him; upon what grounds I know not," says Cavendish, "but he was so bold as to set Wolsey by the feet during his pleasure."

render his local intercourse irksome. He, therefore, removed from Lymington, and was received as one of the domestic chaplains of archbishop Dean. At the death of that prelate, he went to Calais, where sir John Nanfan, then treasurer, appointed him to manage the business of his office. In this situation, Wolsey conducted himself with so much discretion, that sir John was induced to exert his influence to procure him promotion, and succeeded in getting him nominated one of the chaplains to the king.

XII. Wolsey, when he obtained this situation, possessed many of those endowments which, at court, are often more advantageous than virtues. He spoke and acted with a generous assurance; and that superiority of deportment, which, in the glare of his full fortune, was felt so like arrogance, seemed then only calculated to acquire and secure respect. In the performance of his duty, he had frequent opportunities of improving the impression of his exterior accomplishments; and his advancement accompanied the development of his talents. The abbot of the rich monastery of St. Edmund appointed him to the rectory of Redgrave, in the diocese of Norwich; Fox, bishop of Winchester, who at that time held the privy seal, and sir Thomas Lovel, then chancellor of the exchequer, also distinguished him by their friendship. They thought that his uncommon capacity might be usefully employed in affairs of state; and, accordingly, while the treaty of marriage was pending between the king and Margaret the dowager of Savoy, they proposed him as a fit person to be sent to her father, the emperor Maximilian, on that business. The king had not before particularly noticed Wolsey; but,

after conversing with him on this subject, he was satisfied with his qualifications, and commanded him to be in readiness for the embassy*.

XIII. The court was then at Richmond, from which Wolsey proceeded, with his dispatches, to London, where he arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. He had a boat waiting; and in less than three hours was at Gravesend. With post-horses, he got, next morning, to Dover, reached Calais in the course of the forenoon, and arrived the same night at the imperial court. The emperor, informed that an extraordinary ambassador had come from England, immediately admitted him; and the business being agreeable, was quickly concluded. Wolsey, without delay, returned. He reached Calais at the opening of the gates; found the passengers going on-board the vessel that brought him from England; embarked; and, about ten o'clock, was landed at Dover. Relays of horses having been provided, he reached Richmond the same evening. Reposing some time, he rose, and met the king as he came from his chamber to hear the morning service. His majesty, surprised, rebuked him for neglecting the orders with which he had been charged; "May it please your highness," said Wolsey, "I have been with the emperor, and executed my commission, to the satisfaction, I trust, of your grace." He then knelt, and presented Maximilian's letters. Dissembling the admiration which such unprecedented expedition excited, the king inquired if he had received no orders by a pursuivant sent after him? Wolsey answered, that he had met the

* The business on which Wolsey was sent, probably referred to the treaty recorded in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. XIII. p. 127. It is dated 10th May, 1506.

messenger as he returned ; but, having preconceived the purpose for which he was sent, he had presumed, of his own accord, to supply the defect in his credentials, for which he solicited, his Majesty's, pardon*. The king, pleased with this foresight, and gratified with the result of the negotiation, readily forgave his temerity ; and, commanding him to attend the council in the afternoon, he desired that, in the mean time, he would refresh himself with repose. Wolsey, at the time appointed, reported the business of his mission, with so much clearness and propriety, that he received the applause of all present ; and the king, when the deanery of Lincoln became vacant, bestowed it on him unsolicited.

XIV. It has been alleged that bishop Fox, in order to counteract the power of the earl of Surrey, who then monopolized, almost, the whole favour and patronage of the crown, was induced to promote, and avail himself, of Wolsey's rising genius. Whatever were his motives, it may be inferred that, the personal merits of Wolsey were beginning to awaken the envious apprehensions of that sordid race, who ascribe the prosperity of others to any cause, rather than to the efforts of ability, and to whom talents form a matter of offence.

XV. Wolsey had not long been dean of Lincoln, when Henry VII. died (22 April, 1509), and was succeeded by his only surviving son, then in the eighteenth year of his age. The claims of the rival

* Storer makes the Cardinal describe his mission very prettily :

“The Argonautic vessel never past
With swifter course along the Colchian main,
Than my small bark, with fair and steady blast,
Convey'd me forth, and reconvey'd again.”

families of York and Lancaster were united in the person of Henry VIII. He also inherited from his father greater treasures than any english monarch had ever, before, enjoyed. Nor was he less distinguished by the gifts of nature than by those of fortune. His figure was eminently handsomæ; his spirit courageous; and his temper, though hot and arbitrary, disdained the practice of equivocation. During the life of his elder brother, priace Arthur, he was intended for the church; and to the effects of this design historians have ascribed his erudition, and the personal share which he took in the controversies of the Reformation. He delighted in magnificent spectacles, and was passionately fond of equestrian and athletic exercises—amusements to which the princes and nobles of England have ever been partial. At his accession, he was calculated by his person and manners to attract the admiration and affections of the multitude; and by his knowledge and capacity to obtain the esteem and indulgence of the discerning few. By the judicious advice of his grandmother, he selected for ministers those counsellors of his father who were the most respected for their caution and wisdom *. And no money being required from the people, the affairs of the kingdom were managed with discretion and popularity. The state of Europe was also, at this time, auspicious to the prosperity of England.

XVI. The emperor Maximilian, with a view to secure to his family Burgundy and the Netherlands, which he held only in right of his wife, courted the alliance of the young king. His advances were favourably received; for it was thought that Henry VII. had

* Lord Herbert remarks, that there was no lawyer in this administration.

not acted with his usual perspicacity, by acquiescing in the cession of those opulent territories to a potentate, already, the greatest in Christendom *; and that their entire annexation to the dominions of Austria ought still to be resisted. Lewis XII. of France was at war with several of the Italian states, and was endeavouring to incorporate with his kingdom, Bretagne, which he had obtained by marriage with the heiress; a marriage which Henry VII. was equally blamed for having suffered to take place without opposition. Ferdinand of Arragon, who, by marrying Isabella of Castile, and by repelling the Moors from Grenada, became sovereign of all Spain, had reasons no less powerful for maintaining an intimate alliance with England. His daughter, Katherine, was the queen of Henry VIII. The inducements which had led to this connexion were strengthened by uncertainties in his political relations with the French king, and by peculiar circumstances in the matrimonial condition of Katherine. She had been first married to her husband's elder brother. After his death, a questionable licence had been obtained from the pope, and under it her second marriage was completed. James IV. of Scotland, had married Henry's eldest sister. At the close of the late reign a slight coolness had, however, arisen between the courts of Edinburgh and London, occasioned by the preference which Scotland, according to ancient policy, gave to the views of France; but no serious hostility was apprehended, and the congeniality between the characters of the two monarchs, seemed likely to draw them into particular friendship.

* Lord Herbert.

XVII. No schism had yet, to any apparently dangerous extent, disturbed the concord of Christendom. Savonarola, who had ventured to attack the enormities of the papal administration of Alexander VI. was destroyed at Florence *. By his death, the seeds of a Reformation, similar to that which afterwards spread with such rapidity in Germany, were, in Italy, totally exterminated. The inhabitants of that branch of the Alps † which stretches towards the Pyrenees, had, indeed, separated themselves from the church of Rome; but they were a simple people, and held little intercourse with the rest of Christendom. In Bohemia a few followers of John Huss and Jerome of Prague preserved rather than asserted their principles. In England, from the days of Wickliffe, many had disliked the roman pretensions, but they were in general of humble rank, unconnected, and only united in enmity against the ignorant and luxurious clergy ‡.

XVIII. At this period Wolsey was in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Although a priest, he frequented the entertainments of the young courtiers, of which he partook with the gaiety of secular freedom. One of his Oxford pupils had succeeded to the marquissate of Dorset, and was an intimate companion of the king. In his company Wolsey probably obtained opportunities of studying the temper and inclinations of his master, and of recommending himself to his serious favour, by the knowledge of public affairs, which, in the midst of pleasure and dissipation, he dextrously took occasion to

* Guicciardini.

† Fiddes.

‡ Burnet.

Henry VIII. was the first king of England who had any correspondence with the Swiss.

display. Riches and honours flowed upon him. In the first year of Henry he received a grant of lands and tenements in London, was admitted to the privy council, and appointed almoner *. Soon after the king gave him the rectory of Torrington, made him canon of the collegiate church of Windsor, and registrar of the order of the Garter. Archbishop Bambridge appointed him to be a prebendary in the cathedral of York (1512), where he was soon advanced to the deanery. And the pope, informed of his increasing ascendancy over the monarch, allowed him to hold benefices to the amount of two thousand marks annually, though consisting of more than three parochial churches, if a precedent for such a dispensation could be found in the records of England. But no particular office in the state was committed to his charge until after the french war (in 1513), of the origin and principal events of which it may not be improper to give a brief relation.

XIX. The restless and turbulent Julius II. in the prosecution of his ambitious temporal designs, had involved himself in continual quarrels with several of the italian states; and by his imperious conduct, had produced a rebellion even in the consistory itself. The cardinals who disapproved of his violence, and whom he had excommunicated, called a council, which was formed at Tours, under the protection of Lewis XII. They resolved that the sentence of excommunication against them was void; and that a monitory message should be sent to the holy father, in hope of inducing him to act with more moderation and justice. They also agreed, that, in the

* Fiddes.

event of their message being contemned, he should be called before a general council. Julius despised their admonition, and treated their message with contempt. They, in consequence, proceeded to give effect to their resolutions, and summoned him to appear at Pisa. Until this decisive step, the emperor sided with the schismatic cardinals; but, as they had begun to manifest an undue predilection to the interests of France, he availed himself of it, to separate from the confederacy, and to join the pope.

XX. Julius in the mean time, finding that the forces which Lewis had sent into Italy, for the ostensible purpose of supporting the cause of the cardinals, but in reality to make conquests for France, were making rapid progress, anxiously endeavoured to gain the assistance of England. For this purpose, as a mark of high favour, he sent to the king a golden rose, with the papal benediction, and a letter, filled with complaints against the unfilial aggressions of Lewis. In this letter he employed every topic of persuasion that he thought likely to influence the young ardent mind of Henry. He invoked him by the mercies of Christ; by the merits of his own famous ancestors; and by his duty to the church, to join in the league against the French and cardinals, offering the distinguished honour of declaring him the chief and protector.

XXI. Independently of the gratification which Henry received from the pope's letter, and the mark of distinction which accompanied it, ambition prompted him to seek an opportunity of signalizing himself. Bearing the title of king of France, he was desirous of asserting the rights which that title implied. Besides personal considerations, there were public and more solid reasons to

authorize a war with France. Lewis heightened the dissension between the pope and the cardinals for his own particular advantage. It was suspected that his enmity to Julius arose from a wish to place a creature of his own in the apostolical chair, and, therefore, it was thought not only pious, but also prudent policy for England to interfere, in order to prevent the violation of the church, and the aggrandisement of her antient rival, by the acquisition of new territories in Italy. The english ministers, therefore (1512) decided on war. An embassy was sent to Lewis, requiring him to desist from hostilities. He disregarded the request. A herald was then dispatched, in form, to declare, the antient claims of the english kings to the crown of France, and to demand restitution of Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Mayne, as the patrimonial inheritance of Henry. War ensued. The king resolved to invade France, in person, in conjunction with Maximilian. The commissariat of the army destined for this great undertaking was committed to Wolsey. The office was, certainly, little consonant to his profession and former pursuits; but it was his character to be equally fit for every kind of business, and the duty was performed to the satisfaction both of the army and of the king.

XXII. The forces amounted to fourteen thousand men. Being joined by the Imperialists, they proceeded to invest Terouenne in Artois, a town defended by a deep ditch, bulwarks, and heavy ordnance. The king soon after arrived at the camp, where the emperor, assuming the red cross of St. George, received a hundred crowns a day as the soldier and vassal of Henry. Terouenne was not, at first, so closely invested but that, on the side towards the river Lys, a way

was left open by which succours might be thrown in. The French resolved to avail themselves of this advantage. Accordingly, Lewis, who lay at Amiens with about twenty thousand men, sent forward a large detachment of cavalry ; but before they had reached the scene, the allies had drawn their lines closer, and debarred all access to the town. The French abandoned their enterprise, and retreated. When they thought themselves out of danger, some, impatient of the heat, took off their helmets ; others dismounted from their horses, and the whole fell into a state of disorder that invited surprise. In this condition they were surrounded by a party sent in pursuit of them. Though they boasted of possessing many of the best warriors of France, the rout and confusion became irresistible. The duke of Longueville, Bayard, Fayette, Clermont, and Bussy d'Ambois, were made prisoners in the pursuit. This singular encounter received the appropriate appellation of the Battle of the Spurs*. Terouenne

* Father Daniel, in his account of this battle, gives an interesting and characteristic anecdote of Bayard. The chevalier, with only fifteen men at arms, fighting as he retreated, gained a bridge, over which only two troopers could pass abreast. On this post, he repulsed a detachment of the imperial cavalry ; but a party of english archers getting to his rear, he told his soldiers that it was proper they should surrender, to avoid the destructive effects of the arrows. While waiting, for this purpose, till the enemy could come up, observing, at a short distance, a man at arms of the combined forces, resting, fatigued, at the foot of a tree, with his helmet on the ground, he instantly rode to him. "Surrender, cavalier," cried Bayard, "or you are a dead man." The astonished gentleman at once resigned his sword. "I am captain Bayard," added the chevalier, "and I now surrender myself your prisoner. Take my sword ; but on condition that it shall be restored, if, in going to your camp, I shall happen to be insulted." Bayard, after staying in the camp

immediately surrendered, and the king, with the emperor as his vassal, made a triumphal entry on the 24th of August 1513. Maximilian then left the army, and Henry, having ordered the fortifications to be levelled, laid siege to Tournay. Though the town was of no great extent, the peasantry, by flying to it for shelter, had increased the population to no less than eighty thousand souls. Famine soon followed: a capitulation was, therefore, inevitable; and the king of England was speedily admitted to the sovereignty. A new bishop had lately been nominated to the see, but not installed: Henry, conceiving that he had acquired by conquest a right to dispose of the bishopric, gave it to Wolsey — a proceeding contrary to the rules of the church, and which afterwards occasioned much vexation and trouble to them both.

XXIII. While the army lay before Terouenne, the Lion of Scotland, in his herald's garb, arrived in the camp, and demanded an audience of the king. The purport of this ceremonious message

several days, grew anxious for new enterprises, and requested the man at arms to procure him liberty to return to the French camp. "Where is your ransom, chevalier?" answered the man at arms. "And where is yours?" replied Bayard, "for you are my prisoner." The controversy, that ensued, was referred to the kings at arms, but they had no law for such an extraordinary case: appeal was therefore made to Henry and Maximilian, who decided in favour of Bayard, and he was permitted to return into France.

N. B. It may be inferred, from this occurrence, that, in those days, prisoners, on account of their ransoms, were still considered as belonging to the soldiers who took them. I was not aware that the practice had continued so late. I have alluded to this transaction in my Travels.

was to obtain reparation for injuries alleged to have been suffered by the Scots, with a provisional declaration of war, if satisfaction was refused*. Justly considering that James was instigated to this

* Pinkerton, whose researches have illustrated the transactions between the courts of England and Scotland, during the reigns of James IV. and his son, more fully than any of the historians who have written of that period, gives an account, to the following effect, of the origin of this war. Letters of reprisal had been granted to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, sons of John Barton, who, in the year 1476, commanded a rich merchant ship, which a portuguese squadron captured, and for the loss of which the sufferers could not otherwise obtain indemnity. Although the lapse of thirty years might have abated the sense of injury, the Bartons were active in revenging their domestic misfortunes. Emanuel, king of Portugal, remonstrated against their depredations on his subjects, and offered a judicial examination of their claims: but as he neglected a message, which, four years before, James had sent, to conciliate the dispute, and to restore the antient amity of the two nations, his remonstrance and offer were equally disregarded, and the Bartons repaid the loss sustained by their father, from the spoil of the Portuguese trade, which, in consequence of the discovery of the maritime route to India, by Gama, was then the richest in the world. Andrew Barton, with two vessels, the *Lion*, a large ship of war, and the *Jenny Pirwen*, an armed sloop, traversed the narrow seas, to the annoyance of the english vessels, which he molested, upon pretence of searching for portuguese goods. The english merchants complained of this grievance; and, in consequence, lord Thomas Howard and sir Edward Howard, sons of the earl of Surrey, were sent, with two ships, in pursuit of Barton, whom they met in the Downs. After an obstinate conflict, the scottish commander fell, and the Howards were victorious. James, exceedingly vexed by the event, and the loss of so gallant an officer, dispatched a herald to the english court, to claim reparation; but Henry only answered, that the fate of pirates should never occasion disputes among princes.

A more minute cause of enmity arose from another private feud. Sir Robert Ker, cup-bearer to James, and also warden of the middle march, having been severe

measure by the French, who were anxious that war should be declared by Scotland, in order that the English army might be withdrawn, from France, to defend the kingdom at home, Henry returned a sharp and reproachful answer. "Now," said he to the herald, "we perceive the king of Scots, our brother-in-law, and your master, to be the same sort of person that we always took him to be. Notwith-

in the administration of the latter office, was slain by Heron, Lilburn, and Starked, three turbulent English borderers. Henry VII. in whose reign this outrage was perpetrated, gave up Lilburn. Starked and Heron escaped; but Heron of Ford, brother to the murderer, was given up, as a pledge for the surrender of the latter, and was imprisoned in Fastcalle, with Lilburn, who died there. Soon after the accession of Henry VIII. Starked and Heron re-appeared, as if conscious that they should be protected. Andrew Ker, son of sir Robert, acquainted with this fact, sent two of his servants to punish the assassins of his father, and they returned with Starked's head, which Ker exposed, with impunity, in one of the most public places in Edinburgh.

Pinkerton also mentions a domestic provocation which Henry had given to the family of Scotland, by evading the delivery of a legacy of valuable jewels, bequeathed to the queen, by her father. The character of Margaret was not unlike her brother's, bold and fiery. In one of her letters to him, she upbraids him for his pitiful conduct concerning the legacy, and desires no more may be said of it, as her husband grew every day more and more kind to her, and would pay the value of the legacy himself. "We are ashamed," she adds, "therewith, and would God never word had been thereof: it is not worth such estimation as is in your diverse letters of the same."

The grand source of the war must still, however, be looked for in the principles which had, for many ages, induced the government of Scotland to prefer the politics of France to those of England. For, on the 10th July 1512, James ratified a league, previously arranged, by which he, in fact, united himself to Lewis, although more than another year after was consumed in fruitless and insincere negotiation.

standing his oath, his promise on the word of a king, and his own hand and seal, to his perpetual dishonour and infamy, he intends, in our absence, to invade our dominions, an enterprise which he durst not attempt were we there in person. But he has not degenerated from the qualities of his ancestors, who, for the most part, ever violated their promises, nor observed their contracts farther than pleased themselves; therefore tell your master, that he shall never be embraced in any league in which we are a confederate; and also that, suspecting his intentions, and justly, as the deed shows, we have left behind us one able to defend England against him and all his power. We have provided for this; and he shall not find our realm so defenceless as he expects. Tell him that we are the very owner of Scotland, which he holds of us by homage; and since, contrary to his bounden duty as our vassal, he presumes to rebel, we shall, at our return, with the help of God, drive him from the kingdom." The Lion, astonished and abashed at this lofty and impassioned address, replied, "As the natural subject of king James, I am bound to deliver boldly whatever he commands; but the orders of others I cannot, nor dare I say to my sovereign. Your highness's letters may declare your pleasure, for how can I repeat such expressions to my king?" Henry, assenting to the propriety of the objection, ordered the herald to be entertained according to the usages of chivalry, and summoned a council to consider the message of the scottish king, and the answer which it might be expedient to return. The result was, a letter to James, in effect the same as the verbal declaration to the Lion, who, after receiving a liberal largess, left the camp, and proceeded, by the way of Flanders, to take his passage to Scotland.

While he waited for a favourable wind, the fate of his master was consummated in the fatal battle of Flodden — an event which the Scottish nation have never ceased to deplore, in the finest strains of their poetry and music*.

XXIV. The war had commenced by the earl of Hume crossing

* The following Ballad on this subject has never before been published.

THE WEARY NIGHT OF FLODDEN FIGHT.
 The clouds, like flakes of living flame,
 Float round the setting sun ;
 The warder winds his bugle horn,
 To tend the evening gun.
 The windows to the western sheen,
 As with triumphal light,
 Are blazing all : “ And comes none yet,
 With tidings from the fight ? ”
 Queen Margaret, from the castle tower,
 With anxious accent cries.
 The warder, as he walks the wall,
 “ None yet,” full sad replies.
 The town is out, the streets are still,
 As the lown o’ Sunday’s rest —
 The gutchard loads the gilly’s arm,
 The bairn the mother’s breast.
 But whar’s the gallants of the town,
 That maidens stray forlorn ?
 They ’re all at Flodden with the king,
 O when will they return ?
 They come, they come : lord Huntly now
 Rides foremost from the field ;

the borders, with his clan, and other forces, to the number of seven or eight thousand men. Sir William Bulmer, who had been apprised of this inroad, posted his troops, in ambush, among the deep broom of Tillfeild, and defeated the Scots, as they returned encumbered with booty. Meanwhile, king James was collecting the whole power

No foe has crush'd his plume of pride,
Nor hack'd his painted shield.

But why so soon, and all so trim,

Does Huntly homeward sped?

His clan in sullen silence pass.

"O recreants, have ye fled?"

And now, all in the nightly gloom,

The castle shines afar,

Bright as Orion's giant form

Thick gem'd with many a star.

In heaven's high floor, the stellar chinks,

Whence peers celestial light,

And saints look down on mortal men,

Are open all and bright.

A horse! a horse! a herald comes,

A herald from the king!

What ho! what ho! how fares the fight?

What tidings does he bring?

Ah! sure such silent cheerless haste

Denotes no gladsome tale.

Fond maids all piteous weeping cry,

And boding matrons wail.

And see the scud of angels' spears

Streams up the northern sky.

of Scotland ; and the earl of Surrey, entrusted with the defence of England, marched to Alnwick. The scottish king approached

They war with fiends to save the souls
Of who unhouel'd die.

The abbot of old Paisley said,
Full wily as he stood,
With th' provost on the castle-hill,
And thanes by eild subdued,

"What shrieks are these, what shrieks of woe,
Why climbs the crowd the hill?"

"O rest, my heart," queen Margaret cries,
"My faltering heart, lie still."

Full well I ween, the warden then,
Regardless of her call,
Cries, as a horseman shoots the gate,
"Let the pontlevice fall."

The crowd throngs on ; with wringing hands
To learn the news implore.

"The king is slain, and all is lost,
And Scotland is no more."

Alack, alack, in rapturous grief,
The matrons clap their hands,
And every fond and faithful maid,
In dumb dejection stands.

Along the walls, from keep and tower,
Wild hurried torches flare
The distant hills have heard the news,
And all their beacons glare.

towards the Cheviot hills, the antient scene of the hostile exploits of the two nations, and Surrey, being reinforced, advanced to meet him, where he had encamped, on the heights of Flodden. The Scots were greatly superior in numbers to the English, and equal in valour, skill, and discipline. But numbers, and bravery, and skill,

As fraught with weltering weed and wreck,
Through Flamburgh's fatal caves,
Their foam-crests eddying in the winds
Resound the ocean waves :

As drives the scatter'd storm beneath
The painted arch of heaven :
So rush the remnants of the field,
With banners few and riven ;

With ring of mail, and tramp of hoof,
They thunder through the bow ;
But heartless vassals they are all,
For all their chiefs lie low.

And now the provost, while he weeps,
Plucks up a manly heart,
And bids the woeful wailing throng
Forthwith to home depart.

With saintly love, and cheering prayers,
Soft mingled for relief,
Good priests, and lords from Flodden spar'd,
Would sooth queen Margaret's grief.

" King Harry is my brother dear,
Though fiery fierce he be :
He has a ruth and royal soul,
And will prove kind to me."

weighed light in the balance against the fixed and heavy destiny of the Stuarts. For, by one of those extraordinary and infatuated errors so frequent in the history of that unfortunate family, the king left the high ground, and his army was, in consequence, totally defeated and ruined in the hollow below. Towards the evening, he was discovered fighting, with undaunted constancy, in the vortex of the battle. His standard was, soon after, struck down. Tossed like a wreck on the waves, it floated and disappeared. James, desperate by inevitable ruin, rushed into the thickest throng of the spears and arrows, and was never seen to return. Next morning a body was found, which so strongly resembled the king, that it was considered as his. Surrey ordered it to be embalmed, and it was sent to the monastery of Shene; but, as James had died under a sentence of excommunication*, the rites of christian burial could not be performed without

“ And should he not ?” cried Angus’ heir :

“ The Douglas still is true,
 With pith enough in Scotland left
 Still to make Southrons rue.”
 The brightest gem in Margaret’s crown
 Lord Douglas would despise,
 Compar’d with the repaying tears
 That beam’d in her fair eyes.
 So pass’d the night in Edinburgh town,
 When Flodden field was lost ;
 And all the gallant chivalry
 Of Scotland’s crown was crost.

* The treaty, by the violation of which James was excommunicated, is signed by Andro of Murray. Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. XIII. p. 261. It was ratified by James himself, at Edinburgh, on the 28th November, 1509. Same vol. p. 268.

permission from the pope. The news of the victory was communicated to Henry by the earl of Surrey, and to Wolsey by queen Katherine*. From her letter, it appears that Wolsey enjoyed the bosom confidence of his master; and, therefore, may be regarded as participating in his intentions, and influencing both the man and the king.

XXV. The intelligence of this signal triumph was received by Henry with great exultation; at the same time, he was deeply affected by the death of James. He applied immediately to the pope, to revoke the sentence of excommunication, in order, that the body might be interred in St. Paul's, in London, with the honours and solemnities due to the remains of so august and gallant a knight. The dispensation was readily granted; but doubts arising, whether the scottish king was actually slain, and it being reported that the body found on the field of battle was not really his, the funeral was never performed. The corpse which Surrey brought from Flodden, was seen, long after, lying in a waste room in the monastery to which it had been conveyed†.

* In looking over a book of old papers, in the British Museum, I found the following memorandum, written on the back of the return of a muster roll of an officer in the camp of Terouenne. It was probably made when the news of the victory arrived.

"The kinge of Scotts was fownd, slayn, by my lord Dakers in the fronte of his batayll, and also the lord Maxwell and his brother the lord Harryes, erle Crauford, who is knowen, and the kyng of Scotts body is closed in lede and be kept till the kynges pleasure is knowen in Barwicke, and were slayn XI or XII M Scotts beside them that were slayn in the chase, and III bisshops, and of Englishmen but III C p'sonys slayn."

† Stowe.

XXVI. The scottish nation, astonished and afflicted by so great a calamity, scarcely made any preparations for the defence of the country; but the english government had the magnanimity to grant peace without stipulating for any advantage. This unprecedented liberality had the effect of forming a party, among the scottish chieftains, favourable to England, and averse to the policy which had, for so many ages, involved their country in the projects and misfortunes of France.

XXVII. After the taking of Tournay, Henry returned home, with all that could recommend a sovereign to the affections of a proud and martial people. He had maintained, on the plains of France, the antient renown of England. The regency had been still more victorious; and the people, in the full enjoyment of prosperity, exulted at so many proofs of national pre-eminence.

XXVIII. Soon after the king's return, the bishopric of Lincoln happened to become vacant, and it was given to Wolsey; who, in taking possession, found his wealth augmented by the moveables of his predecessor*. He had been scarcely invested† with this new honour, when York also became vacant, and he was advanced to the archiepiscopal dignity.

XXIX. In the mean time, pope Julius II. ‡ (1 February, 1513),

* Cavendish.

† He was consecrated on the 26th of March, 1514.

‡ It is somewhat extraordinary, that a work so generally read as Hume's History of England, should pass through several editions for the last twenty years, with the omission of the character of pope Julius II. The passage alluded to, may be found in the early editions of Hume's England, in the reign of Henry VIII. about the year 1510, and on the subject of the league of Cambray. It exhibits

the incendiary of Christendom, had died, and was succeeded by the celebrated Leo X. who, with more urbanity of temper, was no less zealous in asserting the pretensions of the church. He opposed the ambition of France with undiminished vigour, and cultivated the friendship of England by the same arts as his predecessor. On ascending the apostolic throne, he consecrated a cap and sword, and sent them addressed to Henry as the most christian king. This title, being peculiar to the French monarchs, was received by Henry as an omen and assurance of ultimate success in establishing his claims to the crown of France.

XXX. But the conduct of Maximilian and Ferdinand, in the war, had dissatisfied the english government. Lewis, apprized of this change, secretly made overtures of peace. The continuance of hostility afforded him, indeed, no prospect of advantage. Two of his principal one of those sketches of character for which Hume is justly celebrated, and in his best manner. The style is vigorous, the colouring impressive, and the whole piece indicates the hand of a master. It is as follows :

“Alexander the Sixth was dead ; a man of a singular character, and, excepting his son, Cæsar Borgia, almost the only man we read of in history, who has joined great capacity with the blackest vices and the most abandoned profligacy of manners. After a short interval, Julius the Second had succeeded to the papal throne, who, though endowed with many virtues, gave almost as much scandal to the world as his detested predecessor : his virtues were deemed unsuitable to his station of sovereign pontiff, the spiritual judge, and common father of christians. Actuated by an unextinguishable thirst of glory, inflexible in his schemes, undaunted in his enterprizes, indefatigable in his pursuits ; magnanimous, imperious, domineering ; his vast soul broke through all the fetters, which old age and the priestly character imposed upon it, and, during his pontificate, kept the world in perpetual agitation.”

frontier towns were taken, the flower of his army were prisoners, and the remainder dejected with many defeats. His trustiest confederate, James, was no more; and the administration of scottish affairs had devolved on Henry's sister, Margaret, the queen dowager. He was himself old, and unable to undergo the fatigue of longer waging war against the three greatest princes in Europe, combined with the pope, who had abandoned him to the vengeance of all Christendom, as an odious schismatic*. He, therefore, became desirous of reconciliation with his enemies.

XXXI. The duke of Longueville, a prisoner at the court of London, was authorized to negotiate with the king. Lewis being a widower, the overtures commenced by a proposal of marriage, between him and Mary, Henry's younger sister. The offer was honourable to the nation, and Wolsey exerted himself to accomplish the match. The negotiation, secretly managed, was completed before the spanish or imperial ambassadors were aware that it was even in progress. Henry was allowed to retain Tournay; was to be paid a million of crowns, arrears of tribute due to his father and himself; and his sister was to enjoy a jointure as large as that of any former queen of France.

XXXII. The princess, conducted to Paris, was received with every external demonstration of welcome (9 October, 1514). In the bloom of life and beauty, Mary united to the spirit of her brother, and her sister Margaret, a delightful and gay irreverence for the ceremonious distinctions of her rank. In the decay of old age, Lewis, incapable of enjoying the blandishments of his young queen, was

* Lord Herbert.

teased and disturbed by the sallies of her vivacity. The attendants, who came with her from England, were dismissed ; even the lady who had been recommended by Wolsey, and her brother, to assist her with advice, was not allowed to remain. The revelries, however, of the wedding were scarcely over, when she was released from her bondage by the death of Lewis (1 January, 1515), who was succeeded by Francis I.

XXXIII. Mary, soon after this event, informed her brother, that, having once married for his pleasure, she would now again for her own ; and that, rather than be controuled, she was resolved to become a nun. The duke of Suffolk was the object of her partiality, and she did not affect to conceal her passion. He had been sent to condole with her on the death of her old husband ; and she told him, unless he resolved to marry her in four days, he should not have a second offer. The attachment seems to have been known in France before the death of Lewis ; for Francis, on the day of the duke's first audience, informed him, that it was understood he had come to Paris, in order, to marry the dowager*.

XXXIV. A singular incident occurred at this juncture, which served to shew, how popular the opinion of Wolsey's excessive influence, over the mind of Henry, had become. An enthusiastic friar went from London to Paris, and, obtaining an audience of Mary, told her gravely, it was rumoured in England, that she intended to marry the duke of Suffolk. "Of all men," said the friar, "beware of him ; for I can assure you, that he and Wolsey have dealings with Satan, by which they rule the king for their own ends." The

* Fiddes.

marriage, however, was speedily performed. Henry was offended at the indecorous precipitation of the widow; but his anger was not inveterate: the interference of Wolsey easily persuaded him to forgive the gallant presumption of his own particular friend, and the juvenile levity of a favourite sister.

XXXV. In the forty-fifth year of his age (22 December, 1515), Wolsey was advanced to the rank of cardinal, and was installed in Westminster abbey, with circumstances of pomp seldom exceeded at the coronations of kings. About the same time, the great seal was given to him for life, with the dignity of chancellor of the realm*. Henceforth, he may be regarded as the dictator of England; for, although the king appeared, afterwards, personally, in every important transaction, the cardinal had acquired such an ascendancy, that the emanations of the royal will were, in fact, only the reflected purposes of the minister.

* Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, was his predecessor. Between him and Wolsey, a grudge had arisen, from a matter of ecclesiastical etiquette. York claims primacy of England, Canterbury of all England; but Wolsey presumed to encroach on the jurisdiction of Canterbury, which led to vexation on the part of Warham, who saw that it was unavailing to contend against his influence. Prior to the erection of St. Andrew's into an archbishopric, the jurisdiction of York extended over the scottish bishops. The christians in Scotland were never, altogether, under the papal sway, although the roman catholic religion was the established. See Sibbald's History of Fyfe. — Warham appears to have been of a contentious disposition; for, in a controversy between him and Fox, bishop of Winchester, Julius II. was obliged to interfere, and wrote to the king to stop their disputes. The letter is still extant, dated at Rome, 13th March, 1512.

Cottonian Library, Vitell. B. II. No. 15.

BOOK II.

WHEN Wolsey was appointed prime minister of England, the affairs of Europe were rapidly advancing towards a new epoch, and society was pregnant with great events. The intercourse among the different nations was every day becoming more active and multifarious. Besides the concerns of peace or of war, the interests of commerce began to press upon the attention of statesmen; venerable doctrines were falling into disrepute; and the circulation of knowledge, extending by the art of printing, rendered it no longer possible to misrepresent the effects of political actions. The proclamation of occurrences at the market crosses of the towns, and the promulgation of new laws in the parochial churches, were the only means by which the english people were antiently informed of the proceedings of their government. The conduct of those, therefore, who had the management of public affairs, must have been flagitious indeed, when it was incapable of being disguised. But, at this period, state delinquencies could no longer be practised with impunity. The press had

multiplied the illuminating agents of truth. It was not enough, that the minister should study to please only the sovereign and his parasites : the people also expected to be gratified, and generally in things obnoxious to the court. This alteration in the antient system of rule, little as it was at first perceivable, has since, insensibly, obliged the ministers of England to study the will of the nation more than the predilections of the nobles and of the king.

II. Francis I., with the usual titles of the french monarch, assumed, at his accession, that of duke of Milan ; having a double claim to the duchy, as the heir of the house of Orleans, which had pretensions to the inheritance, and as comprehended in the investiture which had been made according to the treaty of Cambray*. Succeeding to the means of asserting his claim, he early resolved to make it good ; and to vindicate the glory of France, which had been tarnished in the enterprises of his predecessor. In the prosecution of this design, his success rendered it doubtful, whither England ought to permit the farther aggrandisement of her rival. Frequent rumours, also, of stratagems for the recovery of Tournay irritated Henry, who was vain of his own conquest, and were regarded as the precursors of actual aggression. An extraordinary council was, in consequence, summoned to deliberate on the state of Christendom, and the existing relations with France ; and Wolsey opened the business, by recapitulating various causes of complaint which the king had against the conduct of Francis.

III. Several english vessels have been plundered by the french

* Lord Herbert.

cruizers ; and indemnity, said he, cannot be obtained. Rich property belonging to the king's sister is withheld on evasive pretences. The duke of Albany has assumed the regency of Scotland, and Francis supports him, contrary to an express agreement, and in contempt of the will of the deceased sovereign, by which the queen had been appointed regent ; an appointment confirmed by the pope. The usurpation of Albany is dangerous to the king's nephew, James V. ; for he is suspected of aspiring to the throne, and has induced the nobles to take an oath of allegiance to himself, inciting them to enmity against England. Nor is the personal conduct of Francis such as becomes the honour of a king. He openly protects Richard de la Pole, a fugitive english traitor. But if all these distinct and palpable grievances be not sufficient to induce England to interfere with the proceedings of France, prudence, prospectively considering the effects of the conquests in Italy, requires that they should not be permitted to extend. The existing circumstances, however, do not call for actual war. It is not necessary that the blood of England should be shed ; but the French must be compelled to act justly, and to restrain their appetite for dominion. By assisting the pope and emperor with money only, the objects of a wise and anticipating policy will be effectually attained.

IV. In opposition to the proposal of Wolsey it was urged, that to recommend the violation of treaties was a strange doctrine. When just causes arise for the dissolution of compacts, the injured party ought to protest against the aggressor, before proceeding to war. If any other cause is allowed, the law of nations must be sacrificed, and the transactions of kingdoms become destitute of integrity. The

conduct of the french king may have been justly represented, but his actions are capable of a different explanation; and it is necessary, therefore, to examine them with circumspection. He entertains Richard de la Pole generously; but whether because he is an english traitor, or only a volunteer seeking employment, seems, at least, doubtful. To the interference of Francis with the affairs of Scotland, it is easy to apply an adequate remedy. If Albany be dangerous to the rights of James V. and his mother, let the king protect them; but seek not by subsidies to kindle into fiercer strife those remote wars, of which the issue is unknown. It may be different from what he fears.

V. The allegations of Wolsey did not justify actual hostilities, but they furnished a sufficient pretext for the measure he proposed. The pope and emperor were, apparently, unable to resist the progress of the french arms. If Henry showed himself partial to their side, Francis might be induced to agree to terms favourable to the independence for which they contended. The violation of public engagements, by frank or by secret dealing, is undoubtedly contrary to all the theoretical principles of morality. But the guilt of the governments, whose designs and practices render such violations expedient, is deeper than the delinquency of those whom they provoke to the crime. France had not, perhaps, really, transgressed the terms of any existing treaty, but she had so acted that England could no longer, with safety, remain neutral. The duration of national contracts is always contingent. The circumstances of a government may become so changed, as to make it, virtually, no longer the party which originally contracted. If France had acquired dominion,

which she did not possess at the time of concluding her treaties with England, while the condition of England was in no respect altered, the jealousy of national independence warranted the English to seek the reduction of the french power. The great, the only, duty of governments is to preserve the interests of their subjects ; nor can any alteration arise in the affairs of other states, which they ought to regard with indifference. The counsellors, unable to discriminate the practical morality of nations so clearly as Wolsey, were satisfied, that the relative condition of France and England called for an alteration in the conduct of the latter ; and a system of menacing neutrality was, in consequence, adopted.

VI. The war, in Italy, between the emperor and the french king, was prosecuted with various success*. Maximilian, in order, to draw Henry into a more available alliance, than the degree of countenance which the council had adopted, proposed that the French should be dispossessed of Milan, and that it should be feudally annexed to the english crown. This proposal, like all his schemes, was not without a shew of plausibility. He conceived that a barrier for the protection of Italy would, thereby, be formed, which France could not afterwards force, without incurring the hostility of England. Henry's right, to several provinces of France, was as indisputable, as that of Francis to Milan : and this scheme seemed to promise a mode of adjusting their respective claims. Maximilian also offered to resign the empire in favour of Henry : but his character and actions were not calculated to gain confidence. His projects were, generally, extravagant, and his enterprises never guided by the perseverance

* 1516.

and energy requisite to ensure success. The king and cardinal only listened to the proposition with grave civility, and, therefore, he sought a reconciliation with Francis. This was the more easily accomplished, as a crusade against the Turks was loudly preached throughout Christendom, and the french monarch was represented as the prime cause of all the troubles in the seat and region of the papacy, by which this holy purpose was delayed. It was, indeed, not without rational alarm, that the attention of the christians was turned towards the aggressions of the infidels, and the fierce ambition of the reigning sultan.

VII. The history of Selim may be comprehended in a few sentences. It consists but of battles and crimes. Understanding that his father designed to settle the empire on another son, he rebelled, and, by corrupting the janisaries, obliged him to abandon the throne. To secure his usurpation, he did not scruple to commit parricide. His brother, who had taken up arms against him, was vanquished and put to death, with all the children of the same maternal stock. He subdued the Aladolites, and, descending from their mountains upon Persia, defeated the sophy, and took possession of Touris*.

* General Monk mentions, that Selim was induced to undertake the invasion of Persia by the representation of one of the pashaws. The information, however, which the pashaw had given as to the state of the country, through which his march lay, was so incorrect, that the army lost a vast number of men, and suffered great hardships, in those deserts, which had proved so disastrous to the roman legions. Considering the pashaw justly responsible for his advice and information, he ordered him to be put to death, although the enterprise had proved successful.

Observations on military and political affairs, folio edit. page 20.

Returning to Constantinople, he spent several months in tyranny, and preparations for new aggressions. His avowed object was the complete subjugation of Persia, but he suddenly turned upon the soldan of Syria and Egypt,—a prince of antient dignity; highly venerated by the professors of the mahometan faith; powerful by the opulence of his dominions, and by the military order of the Mamelukes, who had maintained their independence, with great lustre, upwards of three hundred years.

VIII. The soldanic government was elective; and none were advanced to the dignity of soldan, but men who had passed through all the gradations of military rank to the rule of provinces, and the command of armies, and who had uniformly proved their valour and wisdom. The Mamelukes, by whom the soldan was elected, and of whose order he was, necessarily, a member, were formed from children, originally, chosen for the vigour of their appearance, and reared to manhood with frugal diet, and the continual exercise of arms. Their number did not exceed eighteen thousand; but such was the excellence of their skill and management, that all Egypt, Syria, and many of the neighbouring nations, submitted to their sway; and they had sometimes proved victorious over the numerous ottoman armies*.

IX. Selim subdued this formidable state, and consigned many of the members to ignominious deaths, as if the defence of their independence had been a municipal crime. When he had made himself master of Cairo, the christian princes were not alarmed without reason. With vast resources, audacious courage, he united an enthu-

* Guicciardini.

siastic desire of transmitting to posterity a heroic name. He read the actions of Alexander and Cæsar, and repined at the inferiority of his own exploits. Indefatigable in the improvement of his soldiers, and continually augmenting his navy, Christendom attracted and modified his schemes. The rumour of his success, and the dread of his designs, agitated the pontifical court. Prayers resounded in all the churches of Rome. Leo edified the faith of the populace, by walking barefoot in the processions, and the aid of human helps and means was solicited directly, as well as by the agency of the saints.

XI. Briefs were addressed to all christian princes, admonishing them to lay aside their particular quarrels, and, with united hearts and hands, to carry war into the dwellings of the infidel. Consultations were held with travellers acquainted with the countries, the dispositions of the inhabitants, and the forces of the Turkish empire; and a wide and general arrangement of all the array of christendom was planned, and communicated to the provincial governments of the pope. The emperor, with the horse and foot of his dominions, was to proceed by the Danube, and through Bosnia, towards Constantinople*. The french king, with the armies of France, Venice, and the other italian states, accompanied by the helvetic infantry, was to transport himself from Brindisi to Greece,—a country full of christians eager to revolt from the sultan. The kings of Spain, Portugal, and England, uniting their fleets at Carthagenæ, were to sail directly to the Dardanelles, while the pope, in person, proceeded from Ancona, to join the forces as they invested Constantinople. Against such a

* I passed along part of this route in my journey to Widdin, and have described the country.

coalition, there was good cause to hope, that Selim would be unable to defend himself; and a crusade thus intended to cover the sea and land could not fail to have a speedy and triumphant end. In the meantime, a tax was levied on all christians, and voluntary contributions were, earnestly, solicited to promote the undertaking.

XII. Preparatory to the execution of this great project, Leo enjoined a truce, on all his secular vassals, for five years, under penalty of the most grievous censures; and cardinals, of distinguished address, in order to further the business, were appointed legates to the different courts. Campeggio was sent to London. But he was informed at Calais, that he must remain there, until cardinal Wolsey was joined with him in the commission. This obstacle removed by compliance, he landed in England. As his retinue was mean, and himself not opulent, Wolsey sent him twelve mules, and a quantity of scarlet cloth, in order that the pomp of his entrance into the metropolis might, in some degree, correspond with the importance attached to his mission. The rational few may ridicule the artifices of ostentation; but the numerous commonalty cannot, easily, conceive that magnificence does not possess an intrinsic moral value; nor how things, on which their superiors in knowledge bestow so much attention, may not deserve respect. In every town, through which Campeggio passed, he was greeted with great veneration. On Blackheath, he was met by a train of prelates, nobles, and gentlemen. The clergy of London received him in the Borough, with all their processional paraphernalia. The livery of London lined the streets; the lord mayor and aldermen humiliated themselves before him; and sir Thomas More, in the name of the city, welcomed his arrival in

a latin oration. Such expressions of devotion to the pontifical government afforded Campeggio the highest delight. But, unfortunately, as the procession passed through Cheapside, a mule became restive, and threw the whole pageantry into confusion. The trunks and coffers, which had been covered with the scarlet gift of Wolsey, and which the people, piously, imagined were filled with precious presents to the king, and pardons and indulgences for all their own sins, were thrown down, and, bursting open in the fall, discovered a ludicrous collection of the crumbs and scraps of beggary*. This unexpected disclosure, of ecclesiastical imposition, turned the whole triumph of the day into contempt; and Campeggio, as he proceeded towards the palace, was a mortified object of scorn and derision. The motives of his mission were, also, rendered abortive by the death of Selim. The immediate cause of danger being removed by this event, the projected crusade was abandoned, and the christian potentates turned their thoughts again to the modes and means of overreaching each other†.

XIII. The imperial dignity had hitherto been greater in name and title, than in substance and effect; but nature and fortune seemed combining, at this juncture, to realise all its claims and pretensions to supremacy. Maximilian was far advanced in life, and the settlement of the empire occupied his thoughts. Charles, his grandson, had succeeded to the crown of Spain, (23d January, 1516.) By raising him to the imperial dignity, a larger extent of dominion would be subjected to the controul of the austrian family, than any monarch

* Hall.

† Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

had enjoyed since the removal of the roman government from Rome to Constantinople; for, with his hereditary kingdoms, this young prince had succeeded to a new world. Maximilian, with this view, began to canvass the electors. Francis perceived that the union of the spanish and imperial powers would be highly dangerous to his kingdom; and, therefore, in order either to oppose the election of Charles to the empire, or to assist in the wars that were likely to arise in the event of his success, he endeavoured to gain the friendship of Henry.

XIV. The french nation has always had the sinister wisdom to employ personal inducements in their diplomatic transactions; by which, though they may not have as uniformly succeeded in corrupting the integrity of those with whom they dealt, they have, generally, obtained many national distinctions, which are better estimated by the feelings than by the judgment of mankind*. Francis, aware of the ascendancy that Wolsey had acquired over his master, was persuaded of the advantage that might arise from obtaining his favour. For this purpose, he sent to London the admiral of France; a man of excellent address, who was not long in making an agreeable impression on the mind of the cardinal. He lamented that his

* The diplomatic inferiority of the English is of a very antient date. William Tindall, in his *Practices of Popish Prelates*, says, that "the Frenchmen of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor daunced with the pope and the french king, and wearied them; the king of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why he daunced not, it was answered, that he sate there but to pay the minstrels their wages only: as who should say, we paid for all men's dauncing."

Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. i. page 379.

master had lost the friendship of so eminent a person, and dextrously hoped, that, as he was anxious to recover, he might again obtain, it. The flattery of such advances, from so great a monarch, had due effect. To acquire Wolsey still more decidedly to his interest, Francis affected to consult him concerning the various emergencies of his affairs. Henry was acquainted with the process of this secret adulation; but it only served to convince him of the superior talents of his minister. "I plainly discover," said the king, "that you will govern both Francis and me;" and he intimated, by his manner and approbation, that he thought him qualified.

XV. The first effects of this diplomatic courtship was the formation of a league between England and France, (2d Oct. 1518.) The principles on which it was founded, and the objects it embraced, served as the basis of the general treaties of the english government for a long period. The treaty itself may be regarded as one of the fundamental statutes of that great code, which, till the æra of the french revolution, continued to be the laws and constitution of the community of the european nations. It was enacted, if the expression may be used, that, between the two sovereigns, their successors, and subjects, perfect peace and amity, by sea and land, should subsist; and that they should be the friends of the friends, and the enemies of the enemies, of one another. All their respective allies were included in the league. It was declared, that if the dominions of either of the principal contracting parties were at any time invaded, the aggressor should be required, by the other, to desist, and make reparation; which, if he refused to do within the space of a month from the date of the admonition, the confederates were to declare war against him.

If rebellions happened to arise in any of their respective states, none of the confederates were to interfere, unless foreign princes had been the cause ; in which case their forces were to be all united against the aggressors. It was, also, declared, that none of the confederates should suffer their subjects to bear arms against the other's, nor retain foreign troops in their service ; and that all persons accused of high treason should not be received within their respective territories, but that after twenty days' warning they should be obliged to depart*.

XVI. The object of this league was to preserve the then relative state of the different nations ; and to anticipate the consequences that might ensue by the election of Charles to the empire : but it is chiefly worthy of notice as being an alteration in the constitution of Christendom. For the pope was admitted a party, and thereby became amenable to a secular tribunal constituted by the members of the confederation : nor could he violate his engagements to them, without becoming subject to the penalties and forfeitures which were provided to ensure stability to the league. This was the first grand political error of the pontifical government ; and from this epoch the power of the papacy has continued to decline. Charles and Maximilian, as well as Leo X., having acceded, Henry naturally became the arbiter in the disputes that afterwards arose among the confederates. For, secure in his insular dominions, he was not, immediately, exposed to their conflicts, and could only be indirectly affected by the continental revolutions. The effects, therefore, of this important measure, were, under the management

* Lord Herbert.

of Wolsey, calculated to exalt the dignity of England, and to render her the judge of the neighbouring states.

XVII. Besides the general league, a treaty of affinity and alliance was at the same time negotiated between Henry and Francis. The French had never ceased to grudge the loss of Tournay*; schemes to recover it occupied their minds; and in these negotiations the restitution formed a primary topic; nor was it untimely introduced. The expense of the fortifications began to be felt in the exchequer; and the bishop-elect had appealed to the pope against his dispossession by Henry. Either by the secret influence of France, or the negligence of the english minister at Rome, he obtained a bull, authorising him to use coercive means, and to claim the aid of the inhabitants to accomplish his installation. Henry was justly incensed when he heard of this, and wrote to his agent Adrian† in terms of unsparing reproach against Leo. “The bull,” said he,

* This place the king had but little comfort of, being always in fear of surprise. The cardinal had again another time, in the month of May, whether in the year 1514 or 1515 I know not, intelligence brought him by a friar, whom he had employed as a spy, of a sudden attempt intended to be made on the place: of which the cardinal and the council, from the palace at Hampton-court, wrote to sir Richard Jernigan, now the king’s lieutenant there, as certain news. This was wrote the 9th of May, and such speed was made, that, on the 11th, at night, the said lieutenant received it. *Strype’s Eccl. Mem. vol. i. page 11. ed. 1733.*

† This prelate bequeathed a palace in Rome to the king of England, and which was afterwards called the english palace. It is now possessed by the colonna family.

Fiddes, 171.

“is an exorbitant grant, and the pope may very well think, that neither I, nor my officers, soldiers, or subjects, will obey processes and sentences contrary to justice. The bull is contrary to the laws of God and man, justice and reason, and it is a great dishonour to the pope to have acted so indiscreetly*.” This curious letter, though composed in the affluent style of the cardinal, appears, by the fierceness of the expressions, to have been dictated by the king himself. It is, also, a satisfactory voucher, that there existed weighty political reasons for the restoration of Tournay, without the necessity of supposing, with the contemporary historians, who had not access to the state papers, that Wolsey was bribed. Henry had, it is true, intended to keep Tournay as a perpetual trophy of his campaign, but subsequent events seemed tending to make it the cause of controversies derogatory to his dignity. To get rid of it without compromising his honour, was, therefore, judicious policy. But the real motives of the resolution could not with propriety be stated to the public; and those which the cardinal assigned were, certainly, not satisfactory. He represented that Tournay lay so far from Calais, that, in war, it would be difficult to keep the communication open. Being situated on the frontiers of France and the Netherlands, it is exposed to the assaults of both. The inhabitants are insubordinate and averse to the English, so that even in peace a large garrison is necessary to preserve it, and the expense is greater than the utility and value of the place. A treaty was, in consequence, concluded, by which Tournay was agreed to be restored to France, and the princess of England, Mary, to be

* Fiddes's Coll. No. 4.

held as betrothed to the dauphin*. The debateable city was given as her dowry; and, in the event of the marriage not being completed, it was again to be surrendered to England. As Henry had made expensive additions to the citadel, Francis engaged to pay him six hundred thousand crowns, in twelve yearly payments. It was, also, stipulated, that a pension of twelve thousand livres should be granted to Wolsey, as an equivalent for the revenues of the bishopric, which he agreed to resign. And to ensure the faithful performance of these engagements, Francis contracted to give eight noble hostages, and to recal the duke of Albany from Scotland, where his presence was disagreeable to Henry, and thought dangerous to the rights of the queen and her children. It was, likewise, arranged, that the courts of France and England should, next year, hold a friendly meeting on the plains of Picardy†.

XVIII. When the treaty was ratified, the cardinal gave orders, to the officers at Tournay, to sell the provisions and the materials which had been collected for the new fortifications. He enjoined them to put all things in good order, that, when the french commissioners arrived, the city might be resigned with ease, and without suspicion of indirect dealing. He also commanded all vagabonds to be put out of the town, and every man to discharge his debts. Thus maintaining the national integrity, by fulfilling the engagements undertaken for the public, and enforcing the performance of individual contracts. Nor was he negligent of his own private rights. He

* There was something ludicrous in this article, for the dauphin was not then born, but the queen was with child.

† Lord Herbert.

employed an honest priest, who became afterwards a distinguished diplomatist, to collect the arrears of the episcopal income, and the business was managed with mercantile sagacity. The disregard of pecuniary concerns is sometimes an infirmity, but oftener one of the many affectations of genius. But contempt for trifles is very different from the anxious particularity of avarice, and the negligence that entails privations. No man can be dishonoured by the strict administration of his personal affairs, but the neglect of them is both shameful and injurious. The plea of public employment, should not screen him from the imputation of private delinquency.

XIX. In the beginning of the year 1519, died Maximilian, who, by his bustling projects, had so long wasted the strength of the empire in fruitless wars. His intrigues for securing the succession to Charles were not complete. Francis, therefore, immediately declared himself also a candidate for the vacant throne, openly professing himself the rival of the spanish king. "It is honourable to both," said Francis, "to desire an increase of dignity. Let neither, therefore, suppose himself wronged by the pretensions of the other, but, like two young lovers emulous for a lady's favour, strive, each, in his own way to recommend himself*.

XX. Francis was then in the 29th year of his age, gallant, ingenious, and accomplished. He was formed to command the affections of a polished people; but a degree of self-willed impetuosity, and a libertine disregard of engagements, deformed these amiable qualities. In his transactions as a sovereign, more feeling, rivalry, and personal profligacy appeared, than is usually met with in the conduct of kings.

* Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

His opponent, Charles, was, in many respects, different; and in natural endowments, perhaps, his inferior. His mind was sedate and reflecting, more imbued with the sinister prudence of private life, than with the magnanimity which dignifies a monarch. He was at this time only nineteen, but his head was cool and wary; and he already practised artifice by the suggestions of natural propensity, with the ease and confidence of a statesman grown hoary in dissimulation. Not only sordid in making bargains, he always endeavoured to obtain remote advantages unperceived by those with whom he dealt. If Francis, sometimes, found himself over-reached, and refused to fulfil his treaties, Charles was, as often, obliged to sustain the self-wounding sting of disappointed cunning.

XXI. The conduct of Henry towards the two rivals is involved in some degree of obscurity. The policy of England, from this period, and during the remainder of Wolsey's administration, varied so often, and so suddenly, that contemporary historians found it easier to accuse the cardinal of being alternately bribed by the imperial and french courts, than to comprehend the scope of his views. It is the fate of statesmen, to be denied the respect due to their merits, until their plans are surveyed from the heights of posterity. But the hope of obtaining justice at last enables the man, conscious of great purposes, to persevere in his course, undismayed by the clamours of the multitude, the malice of tyrants, and the commotions and anarchies of the world. When the kings of France and Spain became competitors for the imperial crown, their respective qualifications could not but render it difficult to determine, what system the english government ought to pursue. The union of France with the empire, would

constitute a power destructive to the independence of other nations. The hereditary dominions of Charles, added to the imperial, would form a more extensive monarchy, but less compact than the other. For Spain was shaken with intestine war, and Hungary exposed to the menaces of the Turks. The doubtful balance, in the english council, settled in favour of Charles; but so lightly, that it was easily disturbed. A policy of prospective considerations could not be adopted. Wolsey could only endeavour to render his master arbiter to the rival kings, by sometimes favouring the one, and sometimes the other; seldom acting as the decided friend of either. In the subsequent wars, when Charles or Francis alternately gained the ascendancy, Henry sided with the loser, and the weight of England restored the equilibrium of power.

XXII. Charles was elected emperor, and Francis, notwithstanding the gallantry of his professions, could not disguise his chagrin. The pains of mortification felt like the wounds of injury. Though only disappointed, he acted as if he had been wronged. The advantages of his alliance with Henry were duly estimated, and he spared neither flattery, presents, nor promises, to cement the friendship of Wolsey. He empowered him to arrange the formalities of the great meeting of the courts of France and England; an event which Charles contemplated with apprehension, and endeavoured to anticipate, by previously visiting Henry, as he lay at Canterbury, preparatory to passing over to Calais. The king was, secretly, apprised of his coming; indeed, the visit had been undertaken at the suggestion of the cardinal, who, having been solicited to frustrate the interview

with the french sovereign, said that, he thought, Charles might come himself, and discuss with Henry the impolicy of the meeting.

XXIII. About ten o'clock at night, the emperor, under his canopy of state, landed at Dover, with the queen of Arragon, and his principal nobility. He was welcomed, on the shore, by the cardinal, and conducted to the castle. The mingled blaze of torches, arms, and embroidery, brightened the faces of a vast multitude, as he ascended the heights; and the flashing of the ordnance, from the battlements, afforded, at short intervals, a momentary view of the cliffs below, and the english and imperial navies at anchor. Henry, informed of his arrival, hastened to meet him, and, next morning, they proceeded together to Canterbury, at that time one of the finest cities in England. The cathedral contained the relics of the audacious Becket, and was famed through all Christendom for its riches. In every place it was illuminated with the lustre of precious stones*; and the shrine of the papal champion was so embossed with jewels, that gold was the meanest thing about it. The cardinal and the clergy received the king and the emperor at the gates, and led them to the church, where mass was performed, and fresh riches added to that immense treasure, which the devout folly of ages had heaped together. Charles was afterwards introduced to the queen, his aunt. His constitutional gravity was noticed at the evening banquet, and flatteringly ascribed to the appearance of the dowager of France, the wife of Suffolk, then the most beautiful and sprightly woman of the age, and to whom it had been, at one time, proposed, that Charles should

* Erasmus.

be affianced. After enjoying three days of revelry, and having obtained a promise that Henry would not enter into any engagement with Francis prejudicial to him, he sailed from Sandwich, for Flanders, on the same day that the english court passed from Dover to Picardy*. It has been alleged that Charles, during this visit, endeavoured to acquire the favour of Wolsey, by promising his influence to procure him the papacy; but no serious effect could be expected from such a promise, if it was made, for Leo X. was in the prime of life, and many years younger than the cardinal.

XXIV. The meeting of the courts of France and England is the most sumptuous event in the records of magnificent spectacles. The two kings were in the flower of life; the attendants were selected from the most famous and high-born of the rival nations; and such was the profusion of riches, emulously exhibited, that the place of meeting, between Ardres and Guisnes, has since continued to be called the field of gold. Temporary palaces, exceeding in splendour the regular abodes of the monarch, were prepared in England, and carried to the scene. The walls of the chambers and galleries were hung with costly arras, and the chapel was adorned with every thing that could increase the gorgeous ritual of popery. The french king inhabited pavilions of golden tissue, lined with blue velvet, embroidered with the lilies of France, and fastened with cords of silk, entwisted with cyprian gold. — But kings, by their greatness, as well as by their duties, cannot long continue together. The prodigal pomp of Henry and Francis lasted only fourteen days. No political

* May 30, 1520.

discussion, of influential consequence, took place. The interview was only the final and collective exhibition of those pageants of chivalry, which had so long interested the admiration of Christendom. A treaty was, indeed, concluded, but it only declared that Francis, after discharging the outstanding debt, due from France to England, should yearly pay at Calais, one hundred thousand livres, until the marriage between his son and the daughter of Henry was solemnised. This was, probably, a kind of feudatory acknowledgment, personally to Henry, for it was to continue payable throughout his lifetime. It was also agreed, that the differences, relative to Scotland, should be left to the arbitration of the cardinal and the mother of Francis. Although this treaty is the only documentary evidence of business, the interview afforded opportunities for studying the characters of the french statesmen, highly important to such a man as Wolsey. He never, afterwards, appears to have trusted the government of Francis, or to have considered France fit to be allied to England, except when she was in a reduced condition, and when there was some chance that necessity, and the prospect of advantage, would ensure fidelity.

XXV. Before returning home, Henry visited the emperor at Gravellines; and Charles, next day, with his aunt Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, returned this courtesy to the english court at Calais, where the shows of the field of gold were renewed, with new decorations. An amphitheatre, eight hundred feet in compass, which was constructed for the occasion, deserves particular mention, as a proof of the taste and splendour of the age. The ceiling was painted

* Rymer's Fœdera, June 6, 1520.

in imitation of the fabrics of antiquity, and, like them, it was adorned with statues and pictures. But the tilts and masques were interrupted by a furious storm, which extinguished above a thousand of the candles, and defaced the thrones prepared for the princes.—During this visit, Henry endeavoured to persuade Charles to accede, as emperor, to the league of London, to which he was already a party, in his capacity as king of Spain. But, whether already contemplating the amount of his means, and wishing to be considered as free, or really regarding his former accession as sufficient, admits of controversy. Procrastination was one of Charles's maxims; and, on this occasion, he could avoid, without refusing, the proposition. In the end, however, he consented, that his first accession should remain obligatory on him as emperor.

XXVI. It is of little importance to inquire, on what pretexts Francis and Charles engaged in those terrible wars, which so long after laid waste their dominions, and afflicted their subjects. The cause was their personal rivalry. The fervent propensities of the french king instigated him to be the aggressor. He meditated revenge for the success of Charles in the election; he was ambitious of renown; he saw his kingdom circumscribed and invested by the jurisdiction of the man who had overtopped his destiny; and he could not refrain from war. But the league of London made it expedient, that he should not appear to be the first to violate the peace; for, in that case, the king of England and his allies would be obliged to assist the emperor. There were, however, in the situation of Charles, allurements to hostilities which Francis could not withstand.

XXVII. On the same day that Charles was crowned at Aix-la-

Chapelle, Soliman was inaugurated at Constantinople; and, in the astrological language of the time, it was remarked, that they had a similar ascendant. For Charles was the eleventh emperor from Albert, in whose time the dominion of the Ottomans commenced, and Soliman was the eleventh sultan of that race. The french government, from the ambition and activity of Soliman, expected that he would afford ample employment to the german forces. The Spaniards, uneasy at the promotion of their king to the imperial dignity, aware that, in consequence, his residence would rarely be among them, became discontented. Foreigners, to the exclusion of natives, had been promoted to offices in the state; and, like aliens in all nations, they studied only their own emolument. When Charles departed to be crowned emperor, the people openly rebelled, assembled the junta* to redress their grievances, and prepared to defend themselves and the rights of their country against the foreigners, but without infringing their allegiance to the king. Francis, actuated by revenge and hope, and the temptation of these circumstances, sent an army into Navarre, and allowed one of his vassals to commit depredations in Luxembourg. Charles claimed the interference of Henry, according to the terms of the league; and an embassy was, in consequence, sent from London, by which Francis was required to desist from hostilities. The invasion of Navarre proving disastrous, he complied; but war had commenced, and the emperor finding his means equal, at least, to his difficulties, was not disposed to lay aside his arms. Francis, therefore, in his turn, as a member of the league,

* Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

also appealed to England ; and stated, that he could not avoid war, as the imperial armies were constantly augmenting. The king answered, that he had resolved to remain neutral in the quarrel; but offered to be umpire in the dispute, and, for this purpose, if Charles and Francis would send plenipotentiaries to Calais, Wolsey should meet them there, and act in his name, as arbiter. This proposal was accepted; and the cardinal went to the place appointed*.

XXVIII. Before the congress was opened, the cardinal visited the emperor at Bruges. Charles received him, in person, about a mile from the town; and entertained him, thirteen days, as the vicegerent of the english king. Every night his livery was served by the officers of the emperor with an entertainment, which consisted of caudles, wine, sugar, and manchet; differing little in its circumstances and jollity from the antient custom of welcoming the new year. Wolsey, at all times susceptible of the flattery of honourable treatment, could not but feel himself gratified; and his necessary acknowledgments of politeness were interpreted by the French as proofs of his disposition to comply with the wishes of the emperor.

XXIX. The first point to determine was, which of the sovereigns began the war, for the king of England was bound to aid the injured. Wolsey could not but consider Francis as the aggressor. The minister of Charles, accordingly, made proposals not calculated to be accepted. The French, also, offered terms equally inadmissible. After spending ten days in fruitless altercation, the cardinal declared, that he saw no way of reconciling the parties. Francis, indeed, though he had ap-

* August, 1521.

pealed to Henry, and consented that Wolsey should be the arbiter, had really no wish to remain at peace. For even while the congress was sitting, he permitted the duke of Albany to depart for Scotland*; although he was bound, by word and treaty, not to connive at any of his proceedings, which were held to be averse to the interests of Henry's sister and her family.

XXX. Having failed to adjust the difference between the rival monarchs, the cardinal, acting upon the principles of the great league of London, proposed and concluded a treaty conducive to a crusade, which was then projected in order to draw the minds of mankind from various anticlerical notions, by which they began to be affected. And because no expedition could be undertaken against the Turks, until the pride of France was repressed, the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, agreed to the following articles. When Charles passes to Spain, Henry shall give him convoy through the channel, with leave to land in England, and honourable entertainment while he remains there. When Henry passes to Picardy, Charles shall, in requital, do similar service. If, before the end of the current year, peace be not established between the pope, the emperor, and the french king, or if the french king begin the war afresh, Henry shall, on the arrival of Charles in England, declare himself against Francis. In this event, the english fleet, having conveyed the emperor to Spain, shall return and infest the coasts of France; and the pope shall send forth his curse, and incite the secular arm of the christians against Francis. Between Charles, Henry, Leo, and the Medici

* He reached Edinburgh on the 30th October, 1521.

family, with their several confederates, a reciprocity of protection shall be undertaken. And, in order that they may avail themselves, as well as the French, of the mercenaries of Switzerland, it was agreed, that the inhabitants of the Alps should be permitted to remain neutral. The secular contrahents undertook to maintain the papal pretensions within their respective territories, and within any conquests that they might make during the war. When the ambition of France is curbed, the Turks shall be attacked ; and no treaty shall, in future, be signed by any of the contrahents prejudicial to the league of London. It was, also, agreed, that, although the princess of England was betrothed to the dauphin of France; yet, for the public good of Christendom, she might be married to the emperor; and the pope agreed to dispense with the obstacles of their affinity*. Before the ratification of this treaty the pope suddenly died.

XXXI. Few men have attained so much fame by so little effort as pope Leo X. His station, equanimity, and affable demeanour would, without talent, have secured him the admiration of mankind ; yet his mental endowments were such as, without the factitious aids of rank and manner, might have ensured the respect of the wise, and esteem of the virtuous. But indolence overgrew his nobler faculties, and induced such a poverty of moral honour, that he died an object of pity to the good, and of contempt to the libertine. His private life was disgraced by sensual vice ; but the incense of poetical adulation has veiled it in delightful obscurity. His public conduct was stained with crimes ; but they have lost their hideousness by

* Lord Herbert, 108.

the elegance with which they have been recorded. His reign is glorious to Italy, and memorable to the world; but the halo of immortality, that surrounds his name, was formed by the genius of others; and the obligations of posterity are owing to the errors of his government. It was his destiny, however, to appear at an important epoch, and he will always be regarded as the auspicious harbinger of the great intellectual day.

BOOK III.

It is the peculiar quality of legitimate ambition to urge its subjects to make themselves illustrious by beneficial actions. The love of distinction alone is but a perishable vanity, and without the ennobling energy of benevolence, the passion of adding kingdoms to kingdoms is only avarice, and the achievements of conquerors are but crimes. The reputation of statesmen is never venerated, unless connected with institutions of perennial utility. Nor is success always the criterion of merit; for sometimes the motives, as seen in the means of enterprise, so unequivocally indicate honourable intentions, that fame follows even failure and defeat. In the biography, therefore, of eminent men, it is proper to keep in view the peculiar qualities of their ambition, in order to determine, whether they are entitled to the respect of posterity, or ought to be classed with those ephemeral characters, who are only solicitous of contemporary distinction.

II. In the age of Leo X., the church had, in England, as elsewhere, attained the extremes of her prosperity and power. Her sins and luxuries could not be exceeded, nor longer endured.

The monasteries, exempted from regal and episcopal jurisdiction, and possessing, generally, the privilege of sanctuary, their inhabitants did not languish for the want of any species of voluptuous enjoyment*. The doctrine of purgatory supplied them with ample resources. The mortmain laws but feebly restrained the profusion of post-obit piety. To prevent the total alienation of the lands to the priesthood, primogenitureship, entails, and various other pernicious limitations in the descent of property, were contrived. Blended with the feudal system, these checks on ecclesiastical usurpation became the basis of the laws which still regulate inheritance; and they are the sources of those peculiar restraints on territorial wealth, by which the claims of creditors, and the operations of equity†, are frustrated. The church, not content with the rich accumulation of legacies, invented the doctrine of the intercession of saints, and the legends of miraculous relics, and found them wonderfully efficacious in ridding christian people of their wealth and gems. Reason and fancy were equally repressed. Sometimes, it is true, the dramas, exhibited in the cathedrals, emanated a feeble ray of poetical genius in the midst of the most obscure logomachies; but it only served to make the surrounding dark-

* Burnet, 21.

† Although agriculture be the basis of all national prosperity, it is treated in this country as a pursuit subordinate to the fisheries. Medals and toys are distributed for its encouragement by clubs and individuals, as if such puerilities were sufficient to counteract the effect of a systematic castration of the industry of the farmer, by maintaining, in despite of right and justice, those laws which were originally framed to repress the rapacity of the clergy.

ness visible*. All was gloom, and fraud, and sin, and mystery, and shame.

* There is a very pretty monkish morality in the British Museum; the subject of which is the incredulity of Thomas.—*Cottonian (Library) Vespasian, D. VIII.*

The piece opens with a dialogue: Eneas and Cleophas.

Cleophas. Brother Eneas, I you pray,
Pleasing to you if that it be,
To the castle then a little way
That you vouchsafe to go with me.

Eneas. Already, brother, I walk with thee
To yonder castle with right good cheer;
Ruing together, anon go we,
Brother Cleophas, we two, in fear.

Cleophas. Brother Eneas, I am sore mov'd
When Christ our master comes in my mind,
When that I think how he was griev'd
Joy in my heart I none can find:
He was so lowly, so good, so kind,
Holy of life, and meek of mood,
Alas! the Jews eyes they were too blind
Him for to kill, that was so good.

They continue to discourse on the crucifixion, when Christ joins them, and requests to walk with them in fellowship.

In the same volume, there is another composition still more singular. It is no less than a rude dramatic outline of the subject of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It opens with one Deus giving the following account of himself:

My name is known, God and King,
My work to make well I wend,

III. Henry VII., perplexed by the different pretenders to the throne, and particularly by the followers of Perkin Warbeck taking

In myself resteth my reign-ing,
 It hath no ginning nor none end,
 And all that ever shall have being
 It is inclosed in my mind :
 When it is made at my liking,
 I may it save, I may it chind,
 After my pleasure.

So great of might is my powstie,
 All things that be, belong to me ;
 I am a God in person three
 Knit in one substance.

I am the true trinitie
 Here walking in the wone,
 Three persons myself I see.
 Looking in me god alone
 I am the fader of powstie,
 My son with me ginneth gone,
 My ghost is grace, in majestie.
 I willeth welth up in heaven's throne.
 One God three I call ;
 I am father of might,
 My son keepeth right,
 My ghost hath light
 And grace with all ;
 Myself beginning never did take,
 And endless I am through my own might.
 First I made heaven with stars of light

refuge in the churches and abbeys, applied to Julius II. for a bull to correct the abuse of sanctuary in England. His holiness, solicitous

In mirth and joy ever more to wake,
 In heaven I beeld angels full bright
 My servants to be all for my sake,
 With mirth and melody worship my might.
 I beld them in my bliss,
 Angels in heav'n ever more shall be
 With mirth and song to worship me
 And joys they may not wis.

Here angels enter singing Hallelujah. *Lucifer* then says,

To whose worship sing ye this song,
 To worship God, or reverence me?
 Bot ye me worship ye do me wrong,
 For I am the worthiest that e'er may be.

Angel Beni. We worship God of might most strong,
 Who hath formed both us and thee;
 We may ne'er worship him too long,
 For he is most worthy of majestie.
 On knee to God we fall,
 Our Lord God worship we,
 And in no wise honoureth we thee,
 A greater lord may ne'er now be
 Than he that made us all.

Lucifer. A worthier lord, forsooth, am I,
 And worthier than he e'er will be.
 In evidence that I am more worthie

of the king's friendship, granted the request; and the hall issued on that occasion is the first on record, by which a limit was put to a

I will go sitten in God's see.
 Above sun, moon, and stars or sky,
 I am now set as ye may see.
 Now worship me for most might,
 And for your lord honour now me
 Sitting in my seat.

Angel Mali. God mighty we forsake,
 And for more mighty we thee take,
 Thee to worship honour we make,
 And fall down at thy feet,

Deus. Thee, Lucifer, for thy mighty pride,
 I bid thee fall from heaven to hell;
 And all who holden on thy side
 In my bless never more to dwell,
 At my commandement anon down them flyde
 With mirth and joy never more to well;
 In mischief and movas ay shall they abyde,
 In bitter burning and fire so fell
 In pain ever to be pight.

Lucifer. At thy bidding that will I work,
 And pass from joy to pain so smart.
 Now I am a devil full dark
 That was an angel bright,
 Now to hell the way I take
 In endless pain into be pight,
 For fear of fire a faint I crake
 In hell's dungeon my doom is dight.

general privilege of the church*. To disclose the whole turpitude of the ecclesiastical abodes of England, and to propose a system of gradual reformation, was reserved for cardinal Wolsey. Perceiving that the tendency of opinion might undermine the papal structure, unless effectual means were adopted to restrain the licentiousness of the clergy, he obtained a bull, which conferred on him a legatine right to visit all the monasteries of the realm, and to suspend the pontifical laws in England, at discretion, during a whole year. His motive, at first, for seeking this commission, was, to reduce the swarm of monks, who, from the days of the saxon kings, had continued to multiply†. He regarded them as consuming locusts, a reproach to the church, and wasteful to the state; and he resolved to convert

Deus. Now heaven is made for angels sake
 The first day and the first night;
 The second day water I make,
 The welkin also so fair and light.

N. B. The reader, I am sure, will readily pardon the length of this curious quotation. Before Milton's day, his subject, if not attempted in prose, was, certainly, in rhyme. I am not aware, that either of these two holy operas has ever been printed or quoted.

* 19th June, 1504.

† The extant accounts of the antient british monks are very imperfect; they are sufficient, however, to show that the number was very great, and obedient to the bishop of Caerleon, as all the monks of the early ages of the church were to their bishops, according to the canons of the council of Chalcedon. During the ravages of the Danes, they were so much reduced, that the order was almost

their habitations into cathedrals and colleges, with the view of restoring the clergy to the mental superiority which they antiently possessed over the people. The rumour of an innovation so terrible alarmed all the ecclesiastical orders. Their clamour was loud, incessant, and almost universal. Every levity that the upstart reformer had committed was brought before the public, and magnified to the utmost; and, as if it could diminish the worthlessness of his brethren, it was alleged to be little less than monstrous, that a man so prone to the pleasures of life himself, should abridge the sensualities of others. Those who were free from the reprobate inclinations with which the priesthood were charged in the bull, exclaimed against the generality of the charge, and the criminals were enraged at the prevention and punishment of their infamies.

IV. By virtue of his commission, Wolsey, as legate, instituted a court, which he endowed with a censorial jurisdiction over the priesthood. It was empowered to investigate matters of conscience, conduct which had given scandal, and actions, which, though they escaped the law, might be found contrary to good morals. The clergy furnished abundant employment to this inquisitorial institu-

destroyed, and their houses rendered every where desolate, till king Edgar was persuaded to restore them. He erected forty-seven monasteries, which he intended to increase to fifty, the jubilee number; and, from that period, monkery continued to thrive in England. In his reign, the celibacy of the clergy was established; for those who refused to part with their wives were then expelled from their livings, by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester. The exemption of the monasteries from episcopal and regal jurisdiction, did not, however, fully prevail until some time after.

tion; and, as the fines were strictly levied, and the awards sternly executed; it enhanced their exasperation against the founder.

V. The same causes which had induced Wolsey to attempt a reformation in the manners of the english ecclesiastics; had, in other parts of Christendom, been long operating to produce similar effects. From the election of Alexander VI. the venality and vices of the pontifical government became notorious*; and the wars which occupied the hearts of the holy fathers from that æra, had exhausted the papal treasury. Leo X. finding the ordinary revenues of the popes insufficient for the demands of his political designs and magnificent amusements, had, in order to raise money, recourse to many fraudulent artifices. Among others, he revived those by which Urban II. towards the close of the eleventh century, incited Christendom to arm for the recovery of Palestine. His first attempt was rendered abortive by the death of sultan Selim; but, as all flesh is prone to the enjoyments of sin, Leo thought that the sale of indulgences would prove a lucrative trade. Auricular confession was one of the great secrets, by which the church attained and preserved her exorbitant domination; and it had been rendered completely effectual, by the episcopal appointment of confessors, who were selected on account of their bigotry and devotion to the ecclesiastical cause. Sinners often felt the hardship of this regulation, and trembled to reveal the instigations of young desire, and the levities of youthful blood, to an austere and sanctimonious old man. Leo, therefore, thought that freedom in the choice of confessors would be a

* Guicciardini.

great comfort to sinners. Licences to choose them were accordingly sold; but the measure only tended to facilitate the progress of schism and apostacy. Those who had begun to suspect the validity of the papal pretensions, and to doubt the efficacy of ecclesiastical mediation, took for their confessors priests who were inclined to their opinions. The chiefs of the church, in consequence, were neither so early nor so well informed of the propagation of heresy as formerly, and the danger was far advanced before measures could be taken to procure abortion. The horrible outrages on humanity which were afterwards committed, only served to make the catholic priesthood for ever detestable.

VI. But, although the licences for choosing confessors would have gradually accomplished the diminution of the antichristian usurpations, it is probable that, without the conjunction of other more immediately decisive events, the Reformation, which commenced by the secession of Luther, would not have so speedily taken place. The first outcry of that arrogant expounder of the benevolent text and precepts of christianity, was directed rather against abuses in the sale of warrants to sin, than against the principle on which they were sold. Even after he had been provoked to assail the papal sacraments, he showed himself still so much inclined to maintain exclusive prerogatives to the clergy*, that it may be fairly questioned,

* His consent that the landgrave of Hesse should marry two wives, was, at least, a questionable dispensation. It may very fairly be said, either to have originated in a motive to gain the landgrave fully to his will, or to have been the beginning of new ecclesiastical dogmas, which circumstances afterwards frustrated.

whether his rebellion against the pope was inspired by religious integrity, or by carnal revenge*. Luther belonged to an order of strolling friars, who were employed to sell the indulgences in Germany, but who lost this advantage by a grant which Leo X. made of the profits arising from the sins of Saxony, to his sister Maddalen and her husband, a bastard of pope Innocent VIII. Punishment, among the vulgar, is considered as the proof of guilt; and things tolerated by statutes and practice are rarely suspected of being wrong. The serviceless pensioners of the church, the sisters and bastards of her princes and ministers, never conceived, that frauds on mankind collectively were of the same degree of moral turpitude as if they had been practised against individuals. Persons, who would have repelled with indignation any proposal to swindle their neighbour, and would have punished, with feelings of just indignation, the practices of vulgar felons, made no scruple of dilapidating the stock of public wealth. Maddalen and Cibo appointed an imprudent agent, who employed the dominicans instead of the order to which Luther belonged, and they so glutted the market, that the trade of indulgences was ruined for ever. Powers for delivering souls from purgatory were openly staked in gaming-houses, by the inferior miscreants who acted as brokers for the sister of the holy father; and indulgences

* Among the many weapons by which Luther was resisted, one was certainly peculiar to that age. Some of the astrologers took pains to shew that he had a very disadvantageous horoscope, and, therefore, could not succeed in his undertakings: others held opposite opinions, and declared that he was destined to be a great man. *Fiddes, p. 147, ed. 1724.*

of the most odious description were sold in taverns and bagnios*. It was, therefore, not surprising that the conscientious, as well as the discontented subjects of the pope, should openly proclaim the abuses of the apostolical government. The advocates of existing customs exposed, in vain, the turbulent self-sufficiency of the reformers; and recalled to remembrance, with what constancy of virtue their ancestors had reared and supported that venerable frame of things, which a reprobate generation, actuated by a strange phrenzy, was rushing to destroy. They forgot, that the misconduct of advocates never can impair the principles of a cause. But institutions are only improved by the pressure of external compulsion. Reformations may be ascribed to the wisdom of particular men; but they are the effects of remote causes, and extorted because the public will not endure the corruptions that render them desirable. The ecclesiastical machine was rotten. It could no longer perform its wonted functions, and a new one, suitable to the improved knowledge of the age, was indispensable. The manners of the workmen could neither affect the materials of the old, nor the design of the new. Among the reformers were many virtuous characters; haters of corruption for its own sake, and professors of Christianity for a recompense not of this world: nor can it be denied, that the church of Rome contained many members equally blameless; but the plunderers of shrines, and the burners of heretics, were not of this description.

VII. By the plan of ecclesiastical reformation which Wolsey adopted, the interference of the people was anticipated in England.

* Guicciardini, lib. xiv.

His legatine authority made him head of the church; and, as chancellor and chief minister, he possessed the efficient power of the executive government. Hence the reformation, being undertaken by him, seemed to emanate from the crown; and the nation was saved from those dreadful tumults which attended the overthrow of popery in other countries, and which, though they were provoked by the bigotry of prelates and statesmen, were not the less criminal against society. The treasures and the costly fabrics of the monks should have reverted to the commonwealth, when their original destination ceased, and the alteration of opinions had superseded their utility. But the incendiary and selfish proceedings of the fathers of protestantism must be regarded as having been necessary, and the good which resulted from their destructive system has expiated their guilt. The measures pursued by the pope, contrasted with those of Wolsey, show the superiority of the cardinal's character to much advantage. Leo, instead of endeavouring to amend the errors and vices of the church, punished those who exposed them. But the flames of persecution aided, as it were, the light of truth, and still more strikingly illuminated the atheistical atrocities of the Vatican. Luther was cited to Rome, suspended from preaching, and excommunicated; but these resolutions only served to magnify his importance, and to interest the people in his fate. The spirit of controversy, in consequence, seized on all ranks, ages, and sexes, to such a degree, that extraordinary celestial aspects, which happened to be then observed, were alone supposed adequate to produce an effect so general and wonderful; and, it has been remarked, that while the shrines were

broken in Europe, the altars and idols of Asia and the new world were also shaken and overthrown*.

VIII. Henry caught the enthusiasm of the age, and Wolsey was ordered to apply to the pope for authority to permit the perusal of Luther's prohibited writings to such as desired it, for the purpose of refuting their errors. Leo readily complied; and, in due season, the king brought forth his book on the seven sacraments; a work which the clergy, of course, extolled as the most learned under the sun. The author was compared to Solomon, and magnified for wisdom above all christian princes that had ever existed†. When the book was presented to the pope, he made no scruple of saying, that he valued it equal to the works of St. Jerome and St. Augustine; and, with the concurrence of the consistory, he bestowed the title of **DEFENDER OF THE FAITH**‡ on Henry, and all his successors, for ever. But though the king, in the management of his argument, may have shown himself an able divine, and superior in the vigour and propriety of his style, the force of his reasoning, and the learning

* Lipsius and Paul Jovius.

† Burnet.

‡ Fiddes mentions, that it appears from a charter of Richard II. to the university of Oxford that he made use of the title of *the Defender of the Faith*.—Page 285.

Fuller says in his Church History, "There went a tradition that Patch, the king's jester, perceiving the king very jocund one day, asked him the reason, and when the king told him it was because of his new title *Defender of the Faith*, the jester made this arch reply, 'Prithee, good Harry, let thee and me defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself'."

Rapin, vol. i. page 749, note 3, folio ed.

of his citations*; yet, as the friar addressed himself to the common sense of mankind; the practical effects of their writings were very different. Whether Wolsey actually assisted in the composition of Henry's book is doubtful. That he was acquainted with its progress, and consulted with respect to the execution, is probable. The number and extent of his public trusts, certainly, formed sufficient employment for all his time; but as the uncommon elasticity of his mind enabled him to pass, at once, from one kind of business to another, with extraordinary facility, he might, occasionally, perform the part of a friendly critic, without having any particular share in the regular labour of the work.

IX. At the death of Leo X., Wolsey aspired to the tiara. How this ambition should ever have been regarded as something very iniquitous is difficult to understand. It is the means used to procure the gratification, and not the passion, which makes ambition criminal. But though he was eminently qualified for the papal dignity, the Italian cardinals had strong objections to him on account of his country and character. They regarded all foreigners as barbarians†, and dreaded to admit into the consistory any person from those distant provinces of Christendom, where Rome was regarded as the asylum of all that was holy, harmless, and undefiled. He had, therefore, to contend with the impediment arising from this prejudice, and with the two formidable factions, the imperial and French, which divided the conclave. A still stronger objection, though one that

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. page 17.

† Guicciar. lib. xiv.

was felt, but could not be discussed, arose from his known endeavours to curtail the licentiousness of the clergy. But it may be proper to consider, generally, the public circumstances which, undoubtedly, ministered to prevent his election.

X. Besides the personal qualifications of the candidates, it was natural for the conclave to consider the political interests which they were likely to affect. Both the french and imperial factions could not but perceive, that the election of Wolsey would tend to form a third party, with aims and interests different from theirs. The menaces of the sultan, and the insurgency of the Spaniards, rendered Charles, notwithstanding the geographical extent of his territories, barely a match for Francis, whose rounded, compact, and populous dominions enjoyed entire tranquillity. The kingdom of Henry, though scarcely equal to some of the emperor's provinces, was yet, by its insular situation and prosperity, not inferior in the balance of power to either. The elevation of Wolsey to the papacy would, therefore, probably, in the opinion of the cardinals, have given an undue preponderance in favour of England; especially if his character was taken into the estimate, and character has always great weight in the estimates of contemporary politicians. His vast pride, that lofty self-confidence which admitted of no controul, was a topic of detraction throughout all Europe. His country made him obnoxious to the french and imperial factions, and his exposure of the ecclesiastical corruptions had not rendered him acceptable to the general body of the priesthood. At the death of Leo, it was obviously not the interest of the French to promote a man, whose views and principles were inimical to Francis; and it was more for the advantage

of the imperialists to choose one of their own party, than such a man as Wolsey. Although opposed to each other, they were united against him. It was, therefore, natural, that, in order to get rid of Wolsey, and since they could not agree upon choosing a decisive character from among themselves, they should fix upon one who, by his age and neutral qualities, was not likely to essentially impair their respective influence. The event took place accordingly. After the conclave had been closed longer than usual, and when there was no likelihood of terminating the election in favour of the original candidates, a new one was proposed,—Adrian, the tutor of Charles; a man of moderate propensities, and so far advanced in life that he could not reasonably be expected to live long. He was immediately elected. His elevation was, in fact, the effect of a tacit compromise among all parties; his age and character compensating for the advantage which the imperialists were likely to gain by the event. As the election was unanimous, the cardinals, with their usual impiety, ascribed it to a special interference of the Holy Ghost, who was wont, they said, on such occasions, to inspire their hearts*. Whatever Wolsey may have privately felt, at being disappointed of the honour to which he had aspired, the result did not alter the political policy which he had previously adopted. Nor is there any proof extant, that he did not concur, in opinion, with those who suggested the expediency of electing the emperor's tutor. Besides, his disappointment must have been palliated by the consideration, that Adrian was a foreigner, and that, by choosing him, the door, which had been long shut on the transalpine clergy, was again opened to them, as well as to the

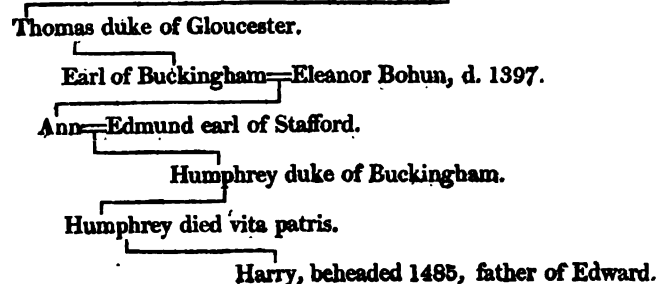
* Guicciardini, lib. xiv.

natives of Italy. It could not fail to be remarked, that the objection of his country would weigh less at the next vacancy, the prospect of which, by the infirmities of the new pope, was not very distant. It has been alleged, that Charles did not exert himself on this occasion for the advancement of the cardinal, as he had promised; but the contrary is the fact*. It is true that his own tutor was preferred; but there is little reason to believe that it was by his particular interference. The views and motives of the french and imperial factions, in choosing Adrian, seem sufficiently obvious.

XI. In the mean time, the domestic administration of the cardinal had been troubled with an unhappy event, the trial and execution of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham. He was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, the sixth son of Edw. III.; and, consequently, as all the legitimate heirs of the five elder brothers, but the mother of the king, had been cut off in the civil wars, he was next in line of blood to the crown, in the event of Henry VII.'s family becoming extinct†. But his chance of rightfully ascending the throne

* Charles certainly did write to his ambassador at Rome, to solicit the cardinals to elect Wolsey to the papacy. There is a letter of his to this effect, dated 30th December, 1521, in the Cottonian Library, Vitellius, B. IV. No. 103.

† The following is the genealogy of Buckingham from Edward III.



was very remote ; for besides the princess Mary, then heir apparent, the dowagers of France and Scotland had each several children, and, as well as the king, had the hope and prospect of more. The notion, however, had taken possession of his imagination ; and the fatality that has uniformly attended the possessors of the title of Buckingham, a title ever famous in the political factions of England, allured him to commit improprieties which indicated treasonable wishes. His revenues were ample, his expenditure liberal, and, flattered by his inferiors, he mistook the deference paid to the accidents of fortune, for assurances of future royalty. Without any of those strong and steady talents, which are at once the causes and the means of ambition, he was deeply imbued with the fatalism which attends that imperial passion, and he pried into the undeveloped secrets of time with a weak and feminine solicitude. The lordliness and lofty genius of the cardinal, overtowering all the courtiers, mortified his pride, and rebuked his pretensions. He grudged that a man of mean birth should enjoy so much authority, and he hated him for being qualified to maintain it. This antipathy was the narrow jealousy of aristocratic arrogance, exasperated, probably, by the contempt with which it was retaliated*.

* The origin of Buckingham's hatred of Wolsey has been ascribed to various occurrences ; but I think it more likely to have arisen from that indescribable antipathy, which may have been produced by the character of the cardinal operating on the pride and rash temperament of the duke. The incidents which are said to have caused their quarrel, I regard only as occurrences which served to publish the animosity of Buckingham. Some have said, that the duke, holding the bason and towel to the emperor and the king, at Canterbury, was enraged at the cardinal for

XII. Among other things which the duke complained of in the administration of the cardinal was, the expensive meeting of the courts of France and England. He represented it as a theatrical show, by which Wolsey only desired to exhibit to the world his influence over the two kings ; but, being ordered to attend, he had prepared for the voyage with the magnificence suitable to his rank and his fortune. Happening to be ready before the court, he went forward to his estates in Kent, and dismissed his steward for having vexed and oppressed the tenantry. A short time before his departure from London, his son-in-law, the earl of Surrey, appointed viceroy of Ireland, had proceeded to Dublin*. It is necessary to notice this

also attempting to wash his fingers while he held it. But this anecdote is not well authenticated, and is told in several different ways. Besides, those who lay stress on it, must exculpate Wolsey for having resolved on the overthrow of Buckingham when he sent Surrey to Ireland, as the earl had departed for Dublin before the court removed to Canterbury, when this quarrel should have taken place.

There is another story which seems to illustrate the character of the duke. One of the king's sworn servants having, without leave, removed into the service of Buckingham, was, on refusing to return, imprisoned by order of Wolsey; and being accused of this demeanour in the Star-chamber, and before the king in person, was found guilty, and obliged to return to his duty. Buckingham construed this proceeding into a personal affront, and never after ceased from reviling the cardinal's administration.

* April, 1520.

It has been regularly alleged, from the days of Polydore Vergil to those of Rapin, that Surrey was sent to Ireland, in order that he might be out of the way when the ruin of the duke was determined. But the fact appears to be, that the

circumstance particularly; because, it has been alleged, that Surrey was sent purposely out of the way, that Wolsey might the more easily accomplish his machinations for the ruin of Buckingham, although it was chiefly on the evidence of the steward that he was found guilty.

XIII. In the spring* following the interview of the kings, and about twelve months after Surrey had been sent to Ireland, Buckingham was accused of treasonable practices; arrested, and frequently examined, he was impeached, and ordered for trial. That he was fairly dealt with in the process cannot be denied. The duke of Norfolk, father of his son-in-law, was appointed great steward for the occasion; nor have the other members of the court, which consisted of a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons, ever been mentioned as actuated against him by any questionable motive. But witnesses might be suborned, and the court, though of the purest integrity, might hear such assertions in evidence, that sentence against the victim could not possibly be avoided. This, however, has never been alleged. It has never been asserted, that the witnesses were false, although the execution was considered as a severity which the actual aggression did not merit. He was convicted on charges, which, in an age credulous of astrological predictions, and at a time ~~when~~ the calamities of the York and Lancaster wars were fresh in

earl of Surrey was sent to Ireland a year before the arrest of Buckingham, and some time previous to the discharge of the servant, by whose evidence his desires were disclosed.

* 1521.

every memory, appeared much more heinous than can be conceived, without reference to the period in which they were made. The turpitude of crimes depends on the state of the public feelings when they happen to be committed. The amount of wrong does not constitute the degree of the guilt of evil actions; but the result of the estimate which society makes of the probable issue of tolerating such actions. The hideousness of guilt consists in its consequences, as Sin is made horrible by the voluminous and loathsome length of her extremities.

XIV. It was proved against Buckingham, that he had declared, before the birth of the princess Mary, that he considered himself, if the king died without issue, as heir to the crown; that he did many things which evinced a traitorous ambition, finding fault with the conduct of Henry VII., and murmuring against the existing government; that he had dealt with a fortune-telling monk, concerning his chance of succeeding to the throne, and, having confidence in the predictions, had courted popularity; that he said to his dismissed steward, if he had been committed to the tower, on account of one of the king's servants, who had entered without leave into his household, and who had been convicted of contumacy in the Star-chamber, he would have played the part his father meant to have acted against Richard III., when he entreated to be brought into his presence. He would have stabbed the king as he affected to kneel in homage; and, in telling these words, he grasped his dagger, and swore fiercely; and it was also proved, that he had said, if the king died, he would have the rule of the realm in spite of all opposition.

XV. Such is the essence of the charges on which he was arraigned. His consultations with the monk had taken place many

years before, and seem to have been brought forward, with a view, to show, how long he had cherished unlawful notions. Norfolk, in pronouncing the horrible sentence of high treason, wept bitterly. "My lord," replied Buckingham, "you have spoken as a traitor should be condemned, but I was never one;" and, turning to the other members of the court, he added, "I wish you no harm for what you have done to me. May God forgive you my death, as I do! To the king I will not sue for life; but he is a gracious prince, and more good may come from him than I deserve." He then requested the prayers of the court, and, being conducted out of the hall, was conveyed to the Tower. Owing, probably, to the state of the tide at London bridge, he was landed at the Temple stairs, and carried through the city. Treason, though of all crimes the most dreadful, is yet, by something either in its magnitude or its resemblance to the gallant enterprises of war, never considered with those sentiments of detestation that acts of inferior guilt inspire. And a condemned man, whatever may have been his offence, is always an object of compassion. In carrying the duke through London, the pity of the spectators would have been excited, even although his attendants had not solicited their prayers; especially as he had not actually perpetrated any palpable crime. The lamentations, therefore, which accompanied his condemnation and execution*, is rather a proof of the generosity of the people and of his own popularity, than evidence of innocence, or of the machiavelism ascribed by contemporary historians to the cardinal.

XVI. After Wolsey's unavailing attempt to reconcile Francis and Charles, it was expected, that the french faction in Scotland, at the

* 17th May, 1521.

head of which was the duke of Albany, would, according to the antient policy of that kingdom, endeavour to disturb the tranquillity of England, while Henry embarked in the war against France. This was rendered the more probable, as queen Margaret, in consequence of a domestic disagreement*, had detached herself from the english party, and openly declared, that she was accessary to Albany's return†. Prompt measures were, therefore, necessary to frustrate the designs which the regent of Scotland unequivocally meditated. The warden of the marches was, accordingly, commanded to pass the borders‡, and to proclaim, that the Scots, in less than a month, should desist from their predatory inroads and warlike preparations. The regency of Scotland disregarded the admonition, and the duke, with a numerous army, advanced towards the borders. But the barons and chieftains, though they had agreed

* The duke of Albany had certainly been recalled to Scotland by a large party in the state. The queen herself had invited him. After the battle of Flodden she had married the young earl of Angus, who proving an unfaithful husband, she had endeavoured, by the means of Albany, to procure a divorce; and among other causes that she alleged for seeking this indulgence was a report, that king James had not been killed in the battle, but was alive at the period of her second marriage. Henry disapproved of this proceeding, and came to high words with his sister, who answered him in a letter of no small pith and spirit. Francis certainly connived at the return of Albany into Scotland; but there is no evidence which distinctly proves, that he directly instigated it. On the contrary, Albany, it appears, was openly invited to assume the regency of Scotland.

Lord Herbert.—See also Appendix.

† Rapin, 750.

‡ 8th Feb. 1522. Stow, 515.

to protect the frontiers of their own country, refused to molest the land and subjects of England. Albany was, in consequence, obliged to propose a truce, and to allow his army to disperse. Thus disappointed, he suddenly returned to Paris, in order to concert new measures with Francis, who, though menaced on all sides, by the confederates, continued assiduous in the execution of the plans which had, originally, induced him to violate the league of London.

XVII. Francis had ordered the goods, debts, and persons, of the English, in Bourdeaux, to be arrested* ; an aggression which greatly astonished the inhabitants of London, and quickened the indignation with which his conduct had already inspired the government. The cardinal, instantly, on receiving the news, sent for the french ambassador, and expressed, with the utmost acerbity, his opinion of Francis and his government† ; in being the first promoters of the league of London, and the first who had violated its engagements. “ Francis,”

* 6 March, 1522.

† “ Laid sore to his charge.” The cardinal appears to have been in the practice of doing this to the foreign ambassadors, whenever he was displeased with the conduct of their courts. In an extract of a letter from sir Thomas Boleyn and Dr. Sampson, dated at Valladolid, the 8th of March 1523, and which I have introduced in the Appendix, they say, “ Truth it is, they think your grace very sore in words to the ambassadors, the which, as is reported, they take not here as in the best part. Monsieur de Nassau showed us, that one day your grace said you would the emperor should show the money in hand for the great expedition, like as the king’s highness shall for his part ; otherwise you would believe nothing that the emperor should or might do ; and that your grace should have said other words, the which he could not rehearse, and would they had not been spoken.” Wolsey treated them very properly. It would have been well if later ministers had dealt as plainly.

said Wolsey, "gave his word to the king, when they met in Picardy, that Albany should not be allowed to return to Scotland ; and yet he has sent him there. What sort of a fellow must your master be ?" The ambassador was then ordered to keep his house ; and all the French and Scots in London were indiscriminately thrown into prison. This summary retribution was immediately followed by other decisive acts of hostility ; and orders were issued to ascertain the population and resources of the kingdom, preparatory to the calling forth of all its power.

XIX. The science of political economy, which has been so amply elucidated in the course of the eighteenth century, was scarcely known in the time of Wolsey. Whatever was raised from the people, for the service of the state, was regarded as so much subtracted from the wealth of the nation. The vital energy, which arises from the general interchange of money, commodities, and skill, was, like the circulation of the blood *, then very imperfectly known. Nor was it understood, that the impoverishment, occasioned by wars, proceeds as much from diminishing the number of productive labourers, as from the expenditure of treasure. It was not the custom for armies to act only against armies in those days, but to practise that system of levying contributions, which the French have, with so much success, resorted to in these. Whenever a country was invaded, all within the reach of the invader was subjected to his use. The inhabitants would have be-

* Dr. Harvey did not discover, but only demonstrated, the circulation of the blood. Among many other notices of a knowledge of its motion in different writings, Brutus says to Portia, that she was

" As dear to me as are the ruddy drops

" That visit my sad heart."

Julius Cæsar.

held, with as much astonishment, the enemy paying for provisions, as the soldiers would have heard with indignation, an order denying them the privilege of plundering. By the feudal obligations, those expenses, which constitute the main expenditure of nations, fell immediately on the possessors of the soil, before the encroachments of the clergy had attached to the church the richest domains, and made it no longer possible for the secular orders to bear the whole charge alone. The ecclesiastics being exempted from personal service, it became customary for the kings of England to solicit them for pecuniary aids. But the laymen were still bound to furnish arms and soldiers. The public works also were, in those days, not constructed at the expense of the royal revenues; but were either paid for by local taxes, or executed by a proportional number of labourers and mechanics drawn from different parts of the kingdom. The civil and judicial offices were independent of the crown, and attached to the soil. Property, which is the basis of political power, was, antiently, in England, the legal and constitutional criterion of capacity*. In proportion to the opulence of an estate was the extent

* Property is the foundation of political privilege and power. Statutes and institutions may, for a time, suspend, but they cannot alter its consequence, nor prevent the possessors from recovering, sooner or later, their rightful influence in society. Under the feudal system, the value of property was fully recognised. In proportion to the extent and opulence of a man's estate, were his privileges and authorities.

“ Proud with victory, with riches, and with independence, the conquerors of the Romans separated to enjoy their possessions and their grandeur. They continued, as of old, to possess a military authority and a civil jurisdiction. The prerogatives, which before they had arrogated, as due to their merit, they now enjoyed

of the possessor's authority. The disbursements of the exchequer were, consequently, on account of the royal household, except when armies were transported to the plains of France : on

as holders of fiefs. In war, they commanded their vassals and retainers, and they judged of their disputes in times of peace. The inhabitants of their territories were soldiers and subjects. Their castles and household bore a resemblance to the palace and establishment of the sovereign. They had their officers, and their courts of justice ; and they exercised the powers of punishment and mercy. They continued to exert the privilege of making war of their private authority ; and the sovereigns of Europe could behold subjects in arms, who infringed not their allegiance to the state."—*Stewart's View of Society in Europe, Sect. 3.*

The DUKES, or LORDS PALATINE, enjoyed powers like those of the sovereign : they coined money, enacted laws, levied taxes, raised troops, and exercised the prerogative of life and death. The king's writs did not run within the bounds of their territories. They could remove from his courts the suits of their vassals ; and they might demand back all criminals who had fled from their authority. They engrossed whatever referred to the civil, the criminal, and the military powers.

The EARLS of counties, and those towns which were counties within themselves, judged of all civil deeds, determined concerning all crimes, except the pleas of the crown ; and when no appeal was carried to the sovereign, their officers put in execution their decisions.

VISCOUNTS were, originally, only the deputies of the earls.

The BARONS possessed a jurisdiction similar to that of the earls, but it was confined within the limits of their own domains.

TENANTS holding lands on the tenure of providing for the array of the kingdom, the service of more than one knight or soldier in full armour, exercised an authority in many respects similar to that of a modern justice of the peace ; and those who were bound to furnish only one knight also enjoyed a degree of manorial juris-

these occasions, the preparations for the fleet rendered it necessary to solicit benevolences, or gifts, from the priesthood, and all other willing and loyal subjects. But this precarious resource was inadequate :

even the vassals, who held but the eighth part of knight's service of land, were not without a due proportion of juridical power.

A fraction of land, of which the grant, by the agreement of the giver and the receiver, entitled to the service of a soldier or a knight, was a knight's fee. An estate of two hundred fees furnished two hundred knights.

The regular fractions of the fee, or knight's service, were eight parts, which were termed its members ; and which had this appellation, from their being bound to perform the purposes of the grant. Of these, the possessors, according to the feudal rules, had manors and jurisdictions. The fee was dismembered beyond the eight portions, into the twentieth, the thirtieth, the fortieth parts, and into fragments still more minute. Hence the origin of the *wee* scottish lairds, and that contemptible crew, who call themselves nobility, the barons of Germany.

Although the christian clergy succeeded to the rights of the priests of the nations that destroyed the roman empire, and as ministers of religion obtained admission into the national assemblies, it was not till after the fiefs became perpetual that they appeared there as barons ; and it was the bishops only who sat in consequence of their spiritual functions, as well as by their temporal possessions. The abbots were admitted into the parliaments only by their territorial rights.

Besides the territorial privileges of individuals, communities were erected into corporations, and endowed with charters which conferred upon their magistrates a similar jurisdiction. Hence the origin of towns, boroughs, and cities. In England, under the saxon government, several towns enjoyed extensive privileges ; and in Scotland, burghers, in parliament, were of greater antiquity than knights of the shires. The earls of cities had jurisdiction over the places from which they derived their titles, similar to that which was possessed by the earls of counties. Bishops were of the same rank as earls. Marquises were not known antiently in

quate for the exigences of that wide and extended war, which Henry had resolved to wage, in conjunction with Charles and his other allies, against Francis. The duty, therefore, which the cardinal had to perform was the most ungracious that could fall to the lot of any

England ; and their rank in the orders of nobility is higher among us than it was on the continent.

As property constitutes the only solid and independent basis of political power ; ability, where property is unrestrained by exclusive laws, will, in proportion to its degree, divide the possession. Privileges ought, therefore, naturally, to be distributed in proportion to possessions ; and that power and ability may be united, property should be released from all exclusive laws, limitations of inheritance, and entail. But as there are two kinds of property, the one local and durable, the other floating and variable, the possessors of the one kind should be distinguished from those of the other kind. The power of the monied interest should be different from that of the landed interest.

The military service of the subjects was antiently, in England, as regularly proportioned to their property as the degrees of power. By the 27th of Henry II. it was enacted, that whoever holds one knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance ; and every lay landholder (mark the exemption of ecclesiastical landholders) as many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he has knights' fees in his domain. Every free layman, having chattels or rent to the value of sixteen marks, shall keep a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance. Every free layman, having, in chattels or rent, ten marks, shall have a habergon, a chaplet of iron, and a lance ; also all burgesses, and the whole community of free-men, shall have each a wambies, a chaplet of iron, and a lance. By the 13th of Edward I., the statute of Winchester, the armour and weapons, directed to be kept by persons of different possessions, were allotted in similar proportions ; and after the feudal system had fallen into decay, the rental of land was taken as the criterion to regulate the distribution of military obligation.—*See the 1st of Philip and Mary.*

minister. Taxation was regarded, in some sort, as a heresy in state dogmas ; and that complex machinery, by which so much of the vast revenues of England is now collected from the risings and friction of industry, was not then invented. Nor were the objects of the war obvious to the multitude, while its burdens were greater than any other which the english nation had ever before maintained.

XX. When the feudal system was in its vigour, it set bounds to the ambition of kings. For, although it enabled them to resist aggression with more expedition than any military arrangement that has yet appeared, it prevented them from combining with so much effect as the later institution of standing armies. It was only calculated for defensive operations. The limited time which the vassals were bound to attend the chieftains, accoutred and provided for the field, was too short for the execution of great schemes of conquest, though sufficient to frustrate invasions undertaken by feudal armies. But as the system itself fell into decay, forces were formed, with commanders distinct from the possessors of the land, before any material change took place in the relative condition of the provincial states of Christendom. The change, arising from the decay, first began to show itself in leagues offensive and defensive ; for the preservation of which, troops, ready for the field, became requisite, and for their maintenance, the obligations of knight-service were commuted for money. As the feudal system sunk, the financial rose ; and the means were taken from the people of defending themselves, and placed in the hands of the military order. Hence nations, which, formerly, would have required the efforts of ages to overcome, have, in these days, been conquered

by regular armies in a single battle. Under the financial system, that country which can support the largest standing force must necessarily prevail. But during the antient state of the european nations, the farther an invading army advanced, its means of annoyance diminished, while those of its opponents increased. The case is different when the contest lies between two regular armies: the inhabitants of the invaded country are defenceless; they trust to their military order, and when it is vanquished, they are subdued. The rule becomes transferred to the victors, and the people, destitute of those standards of local champions, around which their ancestors were wont to rally with invigorated hopes, even after repeated defeats, submit without resistance to the decrees of their new masters. This state of things can only be abrogated by the renunciation of coalitionary projects; and by each nation constituting, within itself, a system of defence commensurate to its population. It is difficult to understand on what principle of natural justice, one government should link its fate to that of another. For what are called the common causes of nations, those in which different states with distinct interests and opposite sentiments unite and war against any other particular state, must necessarily be unjust, because the very object of their coalition is only contingent. Such contracts, however, as the league of London, which, perhaps, ought to be regarded as the grandest monument of the comprehensive mind of Wolsey, are of a different nature. They are, in some degree, to nations, what public statutes are to persons; and their tendency, as was shown in the appeal to Henry, and in the meeting of the congress at Calais, is manifestly to constitute a tribunal, to

which nations may refer their complaints against the encroachments of one another.

XXI. Scotland, by her alliance with France, always reckoned, in the event of war with England, on a powerful diversion being made in her favour, by the proximity of the english continental dominions to the territories of the french kings. And France, in her turn, being continually exposed to the pretensions of the warlike Plantagenets to her whole crown, calculated on a similar advantage, from the borders of Scotland, against the very body itself of the english monarchy. This reciprocity of policy formed a strong connexion between the courts of Paris and Edinburgh; and nothing, prior to the marriage of James IV. with the daughter of Henry VII., occurred to impair its utility. But that marriage, and the magnanimity of England after the calamitous fall of James at Flodden, with the relationship of his children to Henry, opened the affairs and politics of Scotland to the influence of the english cabinet. Wolsey availed himself of this circumstance; and the ministers of queen Elizabeth perfected the systematic interference which he so successfully commenced. Improbable as it ought to be, that persons, belonging to that high class which is particularly entrusted with the sacred custody of the honour and independence of their country, should, for selfish purposes, enter into a corrupt correspondence with the minister of a foreign state; there are numerous documents extant, which prove the venality of scottish peers and prelates, and their subserviency to cardinal Wolsey. From the period of the battle of Flodden, and the meeting of the congress at Calais, a greater predilection towards England was formed within the bosom of Scotland, than had existed

since the time of Edward I. From the date of the battle, the french influence began to decline. During the cardinal's administration it was rendered almost nugatory ; for when it did happen to succeed to a certain extent, its schemes, by some secret skilful management, suddenly dissolved in the moment of parturition, and disappointed the hopes of those who had conceived them.

XXII. The time which the emperor had fixed for his second visit to England, and for which he had made stipulations in the treaty concluded by Wolsey at Calais, was now arrived. A number of persons of the first rank were, in consequence, sent to attend him across the channel ; and the cardinal, with a sumptuous train of ecclesiastics, received him again at Dover*. The king, as on his former visit, met him in the castle, and thence conducted him to the palace of Greenwich. On Whitsunday, he went to St. Paul's with the court ; and the cardinal performed the service with a degree of ostentatious pomp never surpassed by the popes themselves. Two barons held the basin and towel before the mass ; two earls after the gospels ; and two dukes served him at the last lavation. When Charles was soon after instituted a knight of the garter, he received the sacrament with Henry ; and they vowed, together, kneeling at the altar, to maintain inviolate a treaty which had been previously drawn up, and which, from the place of ratification, was called the treaty of Windsor.

XXIII. By this contract it was declared, that hostilities having arisen between the emperor and the french king, they had, as contrahents of the league of London, applied to the king of England, who,

* May 26, 1522.

to compose their differences, had sent cardinal Wolsey to Calais, and it was proved, that the aggressions had first been committed by the French. Wolsey failing to effect a reconciliation, and Francis having violated his faith to Henry by sending the duke of Albany to Scotland, and also by molesting the english trade, it was agreed, that Charles and Henry should unite in the prosecution of the war against France: and, in order to render their alliance the more effectual and permanent, it was likewise agreed, that Charles should, in due time, be married to the princess Mary, or forfeit five hundred thousand crowns if he failed in this engagement. The daughter of Henry had, formerly, been betrothed to the unborn heir of Francis, but the occurrence of war had dissolved that contract. The most remarkable article, however, in the treaty of Windsor is an agreement on the part, respectively, of the two sovereigns, to constitute cardinal Wolsey judge and arbiter of their differences; and they empowered him to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on the first that infringed the articles of the contract*.

XXIV. During the emperor's residence in England, Henry set no limits to his munificence: a continual succession of those gorgeous entertainments, in which he himself so much delighted, afforded to his guest opportunities of practising that meretricious affability which captivates the affections of the vulgar; while he secured by gifts and vails a lease of the good will and praise of the courtiers. Surrey was recalled from Ireland to be employed in the war. It was alleged, that between him and Wolsey there was a secret antipathy.

* Lord Herbert, 118.

If this was the case, the conduct of the cardinal was certainly magnanimous towards this courageous and decisive man. He kept him employed in situations of the highest trust, and enabled him to acquire that lofty renown, which still exhibits him to posterity as one of the greatest warriors that England ever produced. He was, at this time, appointed admiral of the combined english and imperial fleet, from which, while the emperor was with the king, he made two descents on the coast of France, and returned with much booty. He afterwards conveyed the emperor to Spain with a fleet of one hundred and eighty men of war, the largest that had ever before departed from the shores of England.

XXV. It has been said*, that, although Charles appeared to treat Wolsey with so much deference, one of the objects of his visit was to ingratiate himself more intimately with Henry, and to acquire an interest in his affections beyond the influence of the favourite. But this is not probable. The visit had been concerted by Wolsey himself, and nothing had occurred which could induce the emperor to expect, or to desire, a change in the councils and system of England. It is true, that, at this period, the active genius of the cardinal was felt throughout all Europe; and that he arrogated a degree of mastery over the particular affairs of England, which the constitution was not supposed to have vested, even then, in the prerogatives of the crown. But Henry, always fervent in his attachments, was proud of the great qualities and zeal of his minister, and alike regardless of the insinuations of envy, the venom of malice, and the

* Godwin's Annals.

craft of diplomatic depravity. He had too much discernment not to perceive the blemishes of Wolsey's character, his surpassing ostentation, pride of superiority, and love of luxury; but these specks were lost in the lustre of his general merits.

XXVI. Surrey, after conveying the emperor to Spain, landed on the coast of France a force of about seven thousand men, who plundered the town, and destroyed the ships, in the harbour of Morlaix. Having re-embarked, he came to Cowes, in the isle of Wight, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on several officers who had signalized themselves in that exploit*; for the practices of chivalry still prevailed, and knights in arms were qualified to elect the distinguished soldier on the field.

XXVII. The war, in the meantime, against Francis, was resolved to be prosecuted at all points. Orders were issued to ascertain the full strength of the kingdom. An exhibition was made of all the arms; the number of persons above the age of sixteen was reckoned; and the names of the lords of manors, as well as of all the beneficed clergy, were taken. Aliens were, at the same time, obliged to register with the magistrates an account of their families, their professions, and the occasion of their residence in England. The result enabled the cardinal to know the extent of his resources; and, in order to avail himself of them, the Convocation and Parliament were summoned to meet.

XXVIII. The Convocation of the clergy antiently consisted of two chambers like the Parliament. In the upper, sat the archbishops,

* Holinshed, 874.

bishops, and mitred abbots; and in the lower, the deans with the inferior graduates. With the king's writ for calling the Parliament, an order was sent to the archbishops to summon the Convocation, but the day of meeting was not mentioned in the royal order. The clergy, affecting to be independent of the crown, did not choose that it should appear that they were particularly controuled in the assembling of the Convocation. The will of the king, as to the day of meeting, was, in consequence, privately communicated to the archbishops, who, in their writs, informed the subalterns of their respective provinces when and where to assemble*. On this occasion, Wolsey, by virtue of his legatine superiority, regulated the Convocation. The clergy met according to the summons of the archbishops in St. Paul's, London; but the cardinal obliged them to adjourn their meeting to Westminster abbey†, where he explained to them the causes which required their attention and deliberation.

XXIX. He expatiated on the obligations which the church lay under to the king, for suppressing the schism which was likely to have arisen in the days of Julius; but particularly for that excellent book which he had written in defence of the faith, and which they had all so becomingly declared to be inestimable. "Now," said the cardinal, "as he is engaged in a war with the french king, who has sent the duke of Albany into Scotland to invade England from that quarter, it is proper that his clergy should show the sincerity of their gratitude; and prove themselves sensible of the happiness of having such a sovereign, by granting him something,

* Burnet.

† 8th May, 1523.

as much beyond all precedent, as they have affirmed that he has transcended all kings ; and he concluded, by proposing, that they should engage to pay him yearly, for five years, a sum equal to the tenth part of their incomes. The opulent prelates of Rochester and Winchester opposed the motion. They represented it as an unheard-of extortion, which it was not possible for the clergy to pay and live. Wolsey, however, was not daunted. By practising the common modes of managing deliberative bodies ; by corrupting some, and contriving occasions of absence for others, he secured a majority of votes, and, in the end, was victorious. All natives who held benefices were to pay ten per cent., and all foreigners twenty per cent. A few celebrated men were placed on a footing with the natives ; among whom Erasmus and Polydore Virgil were mentioned with distinction. This is a singular fact, and proves the estimation in which the characters of those eminent authors were then held. But the general host of ecclesiastics regarded the conduct of the cardinal, on this occasion, as scarcely less tolerable than in the institution of his legatine court : and they were only content to pacify their indignation by obtaining an exemption of their means from secular investigation ; an exemption which, having been stipulated, was, probably, not originally intended to have been allowed.

XXX. In the Parliament the cardinal was not so successful. The members of that venerable body obliged, by the rated valuation of their lands, to provide proportioned quantities of the materials of war, in common with all the other lay proprietors, and having no means of indemnity for their individual contributions, either in colo-

nial or revenue offices, or contracts, or army promotions, or any of those numerous modes of recompensing themselves for their share of the public burdens, by which, in later times, such miracles in finance have been performed, were not so easily swayed by the energy of the minister's eloquence. The commons chose sir Thomas More for their speaker*. When the customary ceremonies at the opening of Parliament were over, the cardinal, attended by several of the peers and prelates, bearing a verbal message from the king, entered the house, and addressed the speaker on the expediency of granting supplies adequate to the vigorous prosecution of the war. When he had retired, a long debate ensued, which terminated in a resolution to grant only half the sum demanded. Wolsey, on hearing this, went a second time to the house, and requested to hear the reasons of those who opposed the motion. But the speaker informed him, that it was the order of the house to hear, but not to reason, except among themselves. The cardinal then repeated what he had before said on the subject, and endeavoured to convince the members, that what was required for the public service, ought not to be considered as subtracted from the wealth of the nation†. The war, however,

* April 15, 1523.

† There is an anecdote told of the king on this occasion. Hearing that the commons were likely to object altogether to the grant, he sent for one of the members, Edward Montagu, the ancestor of the dukes of that name, and, maternally, of the present dukes of Marlborough and Buccleugh; and, upon his kneeling, exclaimed, "Ho! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" and, laying his hand on Montagu's head, added, "Get my bill passed to-morrow; or else, to-morrow, this head of yours shall be off."

being one of policy, and not in revenge for injury received, nor to avert any visible danger, the commons were resolute, and only granted about five *per cent.* on certain incomes for five years, instead of double that sum, as the minister had requested*.

Sir Thomas More, on this occasion, when introduced as speaker, addressed the king to the following effect. "I am both wanting in wit, learning, and discretion, to speak before so great a prince. Phormio, your majesty must well know, desired Hannibal to attend his lectures, which he consented to. But, when Hannibal was come, Phormio began to treat of chivalry; upon which he immediately called him a fool, for presuming to teach him, who was master of the art of war. So, in like manner, if I should speak before your majesty of learning, and ordering of the commonwealth, your highness being so well warned, and of such prudence and experience, might justly say to me as the great Hannibal said to Phormio."

I cannot understand how sir Thomas More ever came to be considered so highly among the Worthies of England as he commonly is. He seems to have been a pleasant-tempered man; but much of his agreeable qualities arose from an excessive disposition to flatter. During the time he was chancellor, he was fully as complaisant to the king's humours as any of his previous ministers. His literary works have no great merit. I never could muster patience enough to read his *Utopia*. I suspect that much of his celebrity has arisen from his life having been written by his son-in-law.

* The grant was two shillings in the pound on the income from estates of the annual value of twenty pounds and upwards; one shilling on the income of estates of the annual rent of forty shillings, and not exceeding twenty pounds; and a groat a head on every one upwards of sixteen years of age. It was, after the second visit of the cardinal, agreed that estates of fifty pounds rental, and upwards, should pay three shillings in the pound. This sum, like the grant of the clergy, was payable in five years, but not annually.

XXXI. But even the reduced grant was loudly complained of, and the people universally repined that their means and properties should be subject to the investigation of the collectors of the tax. Deputations from the merchants of London waited on the cardinal, and begged him to consider, for God's sake! that the richest merchants were often bare of money in war; and they entreated that they might not be sworn as to the value of their property, for the valuation was necessarily doubtful, and many an honest man's credit was better than his substance. "To make us swear," said they, "will expose us to commit perjury." "The dread of committing perjury," said Wolsey calmly, "is, at least, a sign of grace; but you should give the king some proof of your loyalty. You see what costly armies are preparing for France and Scotland; and these he cannot maintain unless you give him assistance, and we know that you can afford to do it very well. On Saturday next I will, therefore, send a person to receive estimates of your means; and let such of you as have more credit than property, come privately to me, and I will take care that he shall not be injured." The merchants departed, muttering against the minister, who, as he had threatened, sent his secretary to St. Paul's, to receive the estimates of the citizens, without oaths*.

XXXII. During these transactions with the Convocation, the Parliament, and the people, a remarkable event occurred, which claimed the particular attention of Wolsey, and enabled him, as in

* Hall.

the business of the income tax, to afford a precedent for future ministers, in revolutionary times. The crown of Denmark was not then hereditary. The inheritance was limited to one family, but the son was not regularly the successor of the father*. The monarchy was elective, but it was requisite that the candidates should be of the royal family. The prerogative of election was also limited to a certain number of persons, and the heir was chosen during the lifetime of the king†. This form of constitution prevailed, antiently, over all the northern nations of Europe; nor was the law confined to crowns, but extended over all the inferior orders in the state of the gothic nations‡. It preceded the law of tenures; and, when the

* This accounts for the circumstance of Hamlet, in Shakspeare's tragedy, not succeeding to his father. His uncle must have been chosen successor in the lifetime of the father.

† The constitution of Sweden was, antiently, of the same description as that of Denmark, and Christern had previously forfeited his right to the crown of Sweden also. The history of the revolutions in Sweden, ascribed to Vertot, commences by stating, that it continued an elective monarchy till about the middle of the fourteenth century. "For although," says the author, "the children and nearest relations of the deceased monarch were usually advanced to the throne, the order of birth-right was sometimes neglected, and the succession was always determined by choice. By virtue of this right of election, the Swedes oftentimes claimed a power to depose their sovereigns, when they encroached upon the liberty and privileges of the nation. The royal authority was confined within very narrow limits; for the king could neither make war nor peace, and much less raise money or soldiers, without the consent of the senate, or of the estates assembled."

‡ See Pinkerton's Enquiry into the antient history of Scotland. The Goths thought the line of blood more regular by the mothers than the fathers.

feudal system was falling into decay, some remains of it could be traced in the customs of tanestry, which, even in the time of queen Elizabeth, existed in those parts of Ireland to which that system had never been extended. Christern II. who married the emperor's sister, Isabella, and niece to the queen of England, was, at this time, king of Denmark. During the life of his father, and while only seven years old, he had been elected to succeed to the crown. Whether this was considered by the electors as a favour which entitled them to impose new restrictions on the royal prerogatives, or that the old king, with a view of laying the foundations of a regular hereditary succession in his own family, had conceded that his son should be more limited in power than his predecessors, is of no importance to ascertain; but Christern, after his accession, thought, as the restraints upon him were greater than customary on the kings of Denmark, and having been incurred without his consent, that he was not bound to abide by them. Instead, however, of resigning the crown, as he, therefore, ought to have done, he so acted that the electors were obliged to declare that he had violated the conditions on which he held it. In consequence, they proclaimed the throne vacant, and elected his uncle into the sovereignty.

XXXIII. Christern left the country, with his family, and took refuge in the Netherlands, expecting, from the powerful relations of his wife, such assistance as might enable him to recover the throne. They afterwards came over to England, and were received by the court with the distinction due to them as the near relations of the

queen. Upon his soliciting aid, however, the cardinal advised him to repair, without delay, to his patrimonial dominions, and try, by beneficial conduct, to recover the good opinion of the Danes, and a reconciliation with his enemies in Denmark. He assured him that Henry and Charles would use their best persuasion, both by letters and ministers, to the electors, the new king, and the influential lords of the realm, to procure his restoration; and that, out of the respect which Henry had for Isabella, his niece, he would, as an inducement, offer to guarantee to the Danish states, the reformation of those abuses of which they complained, and for which they had deposed him. The cardinal also added, that the english residentiary at Rome should be immediately instructed to apply to the pope for his interposition, by briefs and exhortations, in order to accomplish the restoration. "But if these fair and equitable means fail of effect, then others shall be tried. For it is disreputable," said he, "to reason and good sense, that a prince should, by the wilfulness of his lords and commons, be expelled from his kingdom, without having first given an answer to a statement of their grievances. With these assurances, Christern departed, and Wolsey immediately concerted the means for realizing the expectations that he had cherished; but, in the end, the cause was necessarily abandoned.

XXXIV. The danish revolution not being followed with any effect on the affairs of Europe, with which Wolsey was particularly engaged, is chiefly remarkable on account of the insight which it affords to the cardinal's political notions. His expressions on the

occasion are, indeed, so extraordinary, considering his situation, and the period in which he lived, that, if he had not, under his own hand, furnished the record, they might justly be questioned, having never before been particularly noticed by any historian. In the reign of Henry VIII. the right of blood does not appear to have been considered as essential in the succession. For he was allowed to dispose of the crown by will, and actually excluded his eldest sister's heirs from the right of succeeding*. The english constitution, indeed, appears, generally, to have very distinctly recognized the supreme and ultimate authority of the people, and to have held the monarchs entitled to the throne only so long as they fulfilled their engagements. The opinion of Wolsey as to the obligation of kings, and the power of lords and commons, is now an acknowledged maxim, both in the theory and practice of the constitution.

XXXV. While the preparations for the war were vigorously undertaken by Henry, Adrian, who had filled the papal throne with more innocence and less talent than either Julius or Leo, having ineffectually endeavoured to reconcile the belligerent potentates, was induced to break from the neutrality which he had assumed at his election, and to become a member of the confederacy against Francis. But he had not long done this, when he fell sick, and died †. The cardinal, on

* There is a singular pamphlet written by one Ed. Davies, for the express purpose of proving that Henry VIII. was an example of a patriot king. The author does not attribute the conduct of the monarch to personal feelings, but to public principles; and the truth certainly is, that the life of Henry VIII. requires still to be written.

† 14th Sept. 1523.

being informed, immediately wrote to the king, who was then on one of his country excursions, and solicited his assistance, and also his influence, with the emperor to procure the papacy. In the event of Wolsey not succeeding, the english government were desirous that Julio di Medici should be preferred ; and, from the sequel, it appears, that a reciprocity of advantage had been previously concerted between the rivals, in the event of either being elected.

XXXVI. The cardinals at Rome, after spending fifty days in the conclave, were not likely to come to any decision ; so that the Holy Ghost was again obliged to interfere, and the election, of course, was unanimous. Julio was chosen, and assumed the title of Clement VII. It has been, almost uniformly, since alleged, that Charles had particularly engaged to use his utmost influence to promote Wolsey to the apostolical dignity ; but there is no allusion to any such engagement in their correspondence on that subject. The previous understanding, however, between Julio and Wolsey, is less equivocal ; for as soon as possible after his election, the pope appointed the cardinal legate for life, and conferred on him all the papal pretensions over England which he could alienate ; sanctioning, in every other respect, the measures which he had adopted for the reformation of the clergy within his jurisdiction. The character of Clement for talent stood high in the world. During the pontificate of his kinsman Leo, he had been intrusted with the chief administration of the papal affairs, and had acquired the reputation of being ambitious and innovating, which raised at his election a general expectation of great changes. The world, however, was mistaken : many of the measures which had

been attributed to him, were suggested by the more capacious, but indolent, Leo. He was, in fact, but an ordinary man, in whom the constitutional qualities of gravity, temperance, and assiduity, were more remarkable than the faculties which originate and direct superior speculations.

XXXVII. About the period of Adrian's death, the duke of Bourbon, high constable of France, declared himself in rebellion against his king. Private animosities had long rendered him adverse to Francis; and the english and imperial cabinets, aware of his disposition, incited him to the decisive step which he took at this time*. The price which they, at first, offered for his treachery had been rejected; but an accumulation of petty circumstances influenced his resentment, and the terms being made more acceptable, he was induced to enter into the service of Charles. Bourbon was a plain and gallant soldier; his enmity to Francis arose from the frankness of his nature; and the want of that dissimulation which, while it degrades the man, rarely fails to exalt the courtier. In the outline of his talents he resembled Surrey, then the hero of England; but, with all the qualities which recommended him to the affections of his companions in danger, Bourbon was deficient in self-controul. The principles of loyalty were, in that age, weak among military men, and renown in arms was a higher aim than patriotism. Though Bourbon must ever be regarded as a traitor to his country, his crime, in the opinion of his contemporaries, admitted of a liberal construction.

* Lord Herbert.

BOOK IV.

THE administration of Wolsey presents now a various and busy scene. The principal characters have been introduced; and the secret movements and circumstances, which, in the end, conspired to hasten the catastrophe, have all been unfolded. The narrative of future transactions will, therefore, proceed rapidly; and, in the detail of the military events, only those incidents shall be noticed, which serve to illustrate the state of society, and the peculiarities of individuals. The active operations in the field, and the eager controversies of the reformation, excited the public mind to an impassioned degree, and the imaginations of men were infected with fearful predictions. Astrologers denounced deluges and devastations; but the deluges were the blood of mankind, and the devastations proceeded from the sword*.

* Many provident persons ascended to high places, and watched with anxious awe for the second flood. The abbot of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, built a house at Harrow on the Hill, for the retreat of himself and brethren. Among the many curious similarities between the administration of Pitt and Wolsey, future historians will, probably, notice the predictions of Brothers the fanatic, and the circumstance of many people quitting London on the day which he foretold it should be destroyed.

II. In the autumn of 1523, the duke of Suffolk was appointed to the command of an army sent to invade France, and joined the count de Bure, in Picardy*. Francis was at Lyons, on his way to Italy, when informed of the invasion, which, by the junction of the english and imperialists, was more formidable than he had previously reason to expect. The allies, leaving the fortified towns unassailed, marched directly towards Paris. The whole kingdom was astonished. All the troops hurried to the capital. The recruits, then ascending the Alps, threw aside the hopes of their enterprise, and hastily returned to protect their homes. But a premature winter proved more efficient than preparations dictated by consternation and fear. The allies were compelled to halt; their provisions became exhausted, and the cold was so intense that no creature could withstand its severity. Wolsey, however, was desirous that the troops should still keep the field, and, by the practice of an evasive warfare, deter Francis from reinforcing his army in Italy. But the privations of the ill-provided imperialists were so extreme, that the officers consented that the soldiers should disband themselves; and Suffolk, in consequence, sending his men into winter quarters, returned to England without having accomplished any other object than suspending the march of the reinforcements destined to strengthen the french army in Italy. The miserable and helpless condition of the imperial troops made a deep impression on the mind of the cardinal; and he expressed himself on the failure of the campaign, as if he thought the emperor undervalued the exertions of England, or calculated on supporting his army at her expense.

* 20th Sept. 1523.

III. The earl of Surrey had been ordered from the fleet, and sent to command the troops on the borders of Scotland. The records of his operations present an awful picture of that unsparing desolation which so long spread a lonely barrier of heaths and moors between the habitable tracks of the sister kingdoms. During the summer, he ravaged all the Merse and the dale of Tweed, leaving neither castle, village, tree, cattle, or corn. The inhabitants abandoned the country to the marauders: some fled into England in the most calamitous state of distress. The bread which they craved, instead of repairing their strength, was devoured with such rapacious hunger, that it only hastened their death. Among other places that suffered severely, Jedburg, then much larger than Berwick, was taken, and the fortifications thrown down. On the night of the sack, a party of the english horses, lying in or without the camp, were seized with some unaccountable panic, and ran about in all directions. The soldiers started to arms. The flames of the burning town threw a wild and troubled light on the tumult. The imaginations of the men were filled with superstitious fears; and Surrey, in giving an account of the affair to Wolsey, says, that seven times that night spirits and terrible sights were visible*.

* The expense of the operations in France and Scotland drained the exchequer, and the cardinal was obliged to call for a premature advance of part of the subsidy, which had been granted by the Convocation and Parliament. The sum which he thus required was called an anticipation. As the term had hitherto been unknown in the language, and the war was unpopular, the people thought they paid too dear for learning it.

IV. Clement, after his election, refused to accede to the league of Calais; and declared his intention of remaining neuter in the quarrels between Charles and Francis. At this time Bourbon commanded the imperial army in Italy. The emperor, designing to draw supplies from the Italian powers, with whom he was allied, as he did from England in the campaign in Picardy, left Bourbon and the troops without money. This sordid craft obliged the general to levy a contribution on the inhabitants of Milan, which, with other money that he secretly persuaded the pope and Florentines to lend, enabled him to take the field in the spring of 1524, with about five and thirty thousand men. The French army was as much impoverished as the imperial; a band of the mercenary Switz, finding they were not likely to be paid, having deserted, the French general resolved to repass the mountains. Hearing of his retreat, Bourbon pursued. Between the imperial van and the rear of the fugitives, several interesting skirmishes took place; but the French crossed the Alps without coming to a general battle. The Milanese towns, however, in which they had left garrisons, readily surrendered to the imperialists.

V. The duchy of Milan being thus rescued, Charles refused to invest Francisco Sforza with the dukedom, although he had previously acknowledged his claim. This, with other manifestations of a grasping nature, inspired the pope with apprehension, and he suspected that the emperor meditated against Italy the same designs which Francis had been compelled to relinquish. The papal nuncio at the court of London was, in consequence, instructed to attempt the reconciliation of France and England. But Henry, at this period, cherished the hope of giving substantial validity to his title of king of France; and

Wolsey did not consider the presumptuous nation yet sufficiently humbled. The papal mediation, therefore, failed; and new arrangements were concerted, with Charles, for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Calculating on success, they resolved that Provence and Dauphiné should be erected into a kingdom for the duke of Bourbon, who was to hold it in fee of Henry, and that the other provinces should be restored to the English crown, with the exception of Burgundy, which was to be appropriated to Charles. The emperor engaged to furnish a powerful army to reduce Provence; and to the maintenance of this force, England agreed to contribute a hundred thousand crowns monthly, unless the king himself invaded France, with his own troops, in person*.

VI. Bourbon, continuing to prosecute his successful pursuit, entered Provence, took possession of Aix, and laid siege to Marseilles. The garrison, being previously reinforced, gallantly resisted; and Francis, advancing rapidly, raised the siege. It was now the end of autumn, and the imperialists, in turn retreating, the French followed to recover Milan. Bourbon, aware of the design of Francis, made surprising exertions. Having reinforced Pavia, and taken all the precautionary measures which the hurry of retreat permitted, he continued to retire upon Italy. The French, soon masters of the town of Milan, proceeded to invest Pavia. Francis, deficient in military genius, forgot, that success in war, as in all human undertakings, depends upon the undivided application of means; and occupied his attention with objects that ought only to have been contingent.

* Lord Herbert.

He detached a large body of troops towards Naples, by which the strength of his army before Pavia was essentially reduced ; but as it was still superior in number to the garrison, he continued the siege.

VII. The condition of the scottish government, at the close of the year 1524, and during these motions in Italy, was truly deplorable. Faction violated patriotism; and the nation seemed devoted for so easy a prey to her neighbour, that it is difficult to account for the forbearance of the english government, at this time, upon any other principle, than that Henry regarded Scotland rather as the private estate of his sister's family, than as the rival of England. A kind of domestic interest pervades the public correspondence of the two courts; and this intimacy and affection promised to become closer, by a proposition from the Scots to unite their young king, James V., to his cousin Mary, the english heiress. Charles, alarmed when he heard of the matrimonial proposal from Scotland, although secretly negotiating a marriage for himself with the princess of Portugal, sent ambassadors to London, in order, to request that Mary might be delivered to him, according to the terms of the treaty, by which they were regarded as affianced. His affairs, at this time, were far from prosperous in Italy ; and Solyman, the sultan, obtaining possession of Belgrade, menaced Hungary, and seemed to be rapidly opening a passage into the very bosom of Christendom. It was also reported, that the pope had allied himself with the french king, so that at this period, the emperor, when he regarded the situation of his affairs in Italy, and the ambition of the Turks, had reason to be anxious to preserve his alliance with Henry entire. Nor were the politics of

England less unclouded. The conduct of the emperor had not been satisfactory. The Spaniards, eloquent in words, were dilatory in action; and the cardinal, in his correspondence, could not disguise his contemptuous opinion of their sober and dribbling wars. The behaviour of the pope was greatly suspicious. It was rumoured, that the republic of Florence, and the tuscan territory, were to be converted into a kingdom for the Medici, and to be called Etruria. The minds of men were agitated with polemical controversies; all was obscure, ominous, and perplexed.

VIII. At this epoch, Wolsey made a masterly view of the moral and political state of Europe, which he requested the english minister at Rome to lay before the pope. He represented, in strong terms, the evils that must inevitably ensue to Christendom, if his holiness, while the opinions of Luther infected every country, studied, as was reported, only the selfish aggrandisement of his own family and kindred. He set forth the example of disinterestedness which the english king had shown to all princes, in suspending his private rights and pretensions to France, in order to promote the general welfare of the christian world. He pointed out the confidence which had been given to his holiness; and the expectation cherished, that his pontificate would prove renowned, by the removal of abuses, and the renovation of the papal dignity, which had been so visibly stricken by the wrath of Almighty God, since the heads of the church had become parties in the projects of secular princes. He warned his holiness not to offend the emperor, in whose dominions the lutheran heresies were so rife; and expatiated on the damage and detriment which the papacy must suffer, if the french king succeeded in his notorious designs; for not

only the imperial dominions, but also England, and, in the end, possibly, even France herself, might renounce the apostolical authority, to the everlasting shame and dishonour of Clement.

IX. The part which Henry had taken in the wars was exceedingly disagreeable to his own subjects. They murmured at the requisite taxes, and that Bourbon, a frenchman, should be, in some measure, employed by their king; nor could they conceive in what manner the interests of England were to be promoted, either by the subjugation, or the rescue of Italy, a remote country. The conduct of Charles also dissatisfied the merchants. His cruizers molested their vessels; and he had raised the price of english money, in his dominions, by which the value of their commodities was depreciated *. The king himself began to be dubious of the emperor's integrity; and the whole tenour of the cardinal's correspondence, at this period, indicates distrust, while he suggests many expedients for bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. Louisa, the mother of Francis, having been appointed regent of France during the absence of her son, being apprised of the altered disposition of the English cabinet, sent a monk secretly to Wolsey, to ascertain how far an offer of peace was likely to prove acceptable. But the monk being unauthorised to propose any basis of negociation, the cardinal said, shortly, that if the french government was sincere in its desire for peace, it should deal more frankly, and send persons of more consequence, and with fuller credentials, to Charles, as well as to Henry. The monk begged to be informed, what the king of England might

* Holinshed and Hall.

demand for his part. "The whole realm and crown of France," said the cardinal, "with Normandy, Gascoigne, Guyen, and other dependencies, his rightful patrimony, so long withheld by the french kings. What have you to say that he should not have all his claims?" The monk answered, that he was not instructed to speak on such matters, but he would relate to the regent what had passed, and he thought she would send ambassadors, properly accredited, both to the emperor and to the king of England. Although this interview lasted only about half an hour; and the monk, immediately after, was conveyed out of the kingdom, it was not so secret, but that some notion of its purport spread abroad, and, like all other rumours, received various additions, and underwent several transformations, in the course of repeating.

X. The imperial minister *, a man who scrupled not to aggrandise the reputation of his abilities at the expense of others, and of truth, had frequently, in communicating to his master the details of his transactions with the cardinal, represented, as the results of his own address and skill, those measures, in the war, which were suggested and planned within the english cabinet. Wolsey was informed of this diplomatic artifice, and marked, by his contemptuous manner, how much he despised the man. The ambassador was irritated by this treatment, and vindictively misrepresented to his government the conduct of the cardinal, and particularly with respect to the mission of the monk; of which, instead of sending a fair statement of the facts, he transmitted a garbled account of the popular rumour.

* This diplomatic rascal's name was De Praet.

But the clandestine manner which he took to send these perfidious dispatches, led to the exposure of his despicable character.

XI. One evening, soon after the french emissary had been with the cardinal, a ward and watch of citizens, as was then frequently the custom, happened to be held in the city and environs of London. About midnight, a man on horseback was seized by one of the patrol, on the road to Brentford; and being questioned as to his journey, he answered so equivocally, that he was carried to the guard-house, where he was searched, and the imperial minister's dispatches were found concealed in his clothes. The watchmen, unable to read the address of the packet, carried it to an attorney's clerk, who belonged to their party, and the seal being broken, he found that it contained letters written in cipher. The clerk gave it to the king's solicitor, who was also on guard that night. He, conceiving that the letters must, necessarily, be of importance, delivered them to sir Thomas More, who lived at Chelsea, and belonged to another company of the nightly watch. Next morning Sir Thomas gave them to the cardinal in the court of chancery. Wolsey, it would appear, was acquainted with the imperial ciphers; for, on looking into the letters, he perceived that others, of a similar tenour, had been sent in the course of the preceding day. He, therefore, ordered all the packets of the imperial minister to be stopped, and brought to him: and he commanded the ambassador to confine himself to his house, transmitting, along with the disreputable writings, a circumstantial account of the real transactions of the english government, to be laid before the emperor, in order to shew how much his confidence had been misplaced; and to warn him of the danger that might ensue to

the mutual amity of the two courts, by employing such unprincipled and mischievous men.

XII. In consequence of what had passed between the monk and the cardinal, the regency of France sent a public embassy to open a negotiation; but, before they had presented their credentials, tidings arrived in London of the defeat and captivity of their king at Pavia, an event which filled all Europe with consternation. The french garrisons in Italy abandoned their posts: The troops, spared from the battle, fled in amazement. The often-contested dutchy of Milan was restored to the imperialists. The italian states, seeing the emperor thus in the possession of his rival, and apprehending, by his conduct to Francisco Sforza, that he was infected with the ambition of being sole monarch, prepared to confederate for mutual defence. The Venetians proposed a league to the pope; but Clement, dreading to incur the vengeance of the imperial arms, refused their offer. The maritime state, however, with a courage worthy of freedom, determined to hazard all, rather than incur the consequences of seeing the house of Austria without a rival. In London, the destruction of the french army, and the captivity of the french king, afforded, at first, the liveliest pleasure. Henry boasted of his intention to proceed directly to France; and the people exulted, in the idea of seeing the projects of the Edwards and their fifth Harry realised.

XIII. But the preparations ordered for the invasion were scarcely commenced, when messages came, from all parts, with such a description of the arrogance of the imperialists, and the conduct of the emperor, in attempting to appropriate entirely to himself all the fruits of the victory, that the king suspended his purpose. He was

convinced that the balance of power was overthrown; that it was barely possible for him to maintain the proud eminence on which he had hitherto stood; and that the events which he thought so favourable to the accomplishment of his wishes, menaced him, in fact, with a more subordinate fortune than the kings of England had ever known. It is seldom that any man can sway the current of national affairs; but a wide and earnest system of action never fails to produce results which resemble the pre-expected effects of particular designs. The cardinal, in conjunction with the Italian states, promptly adopted a course of policy which had for its object the restoration of the balance of power. The imperial ambassador was therefore permitted to quit his confinement, and to leave the kingdom; while it was secretly intimated to the court of Paris, that the king of England had determined not to avail himself of the unfortunate and defenceless state of France.

XIV. The first intelligence of the defeat at Pavia filled the French nation with despair and sorrow. The people imagined and expected every calamity which fear could suggest and adversity render probable. They bewailed the captivity of their king — their nobles also prisoners, or slain in the battle — and they deemed their misfortunes irreparable. The realm was exhausted of treasure; environed with mighty armies; and the noise of the terrible preparations of the English king resounded continually in their ears. The government was in the hands of a woman; the princes were still children; and the soldiers were destitute of leaders: — all seemed combined to denote their subjugation. But the mother of Francis possessed a firm and a majestic mind. Though his letters informed

her that all was lost, but life and honour, she exerted her spirit in the midst of the general consternation, and roused the ministers to perform their duty.

XV. Francis was conveyed in his own galleys to Spain; and his voyage was cheered by the hope that, when brought into the presence of Charles, he should easily negotiate his freedom; at least, that his treatment would resemble the magnanimous entertainment which his ancestor had received at the court of England in the time of Edward III. The emperor did, indeed, give orders to receive him with the courtesy due to his rank; but this generosity was of short duration. Francis had not been long upon the Spanish territory, when he was conveyed a close prisoner to the castle of Madrid, allowed no honourable pastime, and deprived of the expectation of seeing Charles. The keen sense of indignity, disappointment, and misfortune, pressed upon his mind, and reduced him to such a low, despondent state, that the physicians despaired of his recovery, unless the emperor would have the humanity to visit him, with some assurance of freedom. Charles had received the news of the victory of Pavia with tiberian hypocrisy. He forbade, among his subjects, all demonstrations of joy, and affected to be impressed with sentiments which were not natural, nor such as he could feel. The peculiar malady of Francis disconcerted his craftiness. He had not decided in what manner to act; and the death of the captive would render the victory comparatively fruitless. But he was admonished, that he could not comply with the suggestions of the physicians without setting Francis free; or without incurring the disgraceful imputation of having desired the preservation of his life only to

satisfy his own avarice. Sovereigns are not bound by the predilections of men ; but it is an essential part of their duty to ennoble the topics of human admiration by the grandeur of their generosity. Charles, however, though, at this period, only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, had survived the disinterestedness of youth, and despised the unprofitable heroism of chivalry. He visited Francis ; seated himself, with unfelt kindness, beside his couch ; and, by the practice of fraudulent compassion, renovated the hope and life that were on the point of expiring.

XVI. The system of preparation which was formed in England for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and which Henry, on receiving the news of Francis's defeat, had exultingly ordered to be directed against France, were continued, in order to provide for the consequences which were apprehended from the conduct of the emperor. But the expense had already greatly exceeded the sums voted by the Convocation and Parliament : in consequence, it was resolved to levy an extraordinary contribution*, under the name of a benevolence. Commissions were accordingly issued to all the shires, requiring the

* There seems reason to think, but I have not ascertained distinctly the fact, that this contribution had reference to the grant of the Parliament and Convocation, and was founded on them. For among Masters's MS collection in the library of Jesus college, Oxford, I met with the following note :

" 1525. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk write to the cardinal, that the commons lay all the blame on him ; and that, if any insurrection follow, the quarrel shall be only against him. The cardinal writes to the same, that it is the custom of the people, when any thing miscontents them, to blame those that be near about the king ; and, when they dare not use their tongues against their sovereign,

sixth part of every layman's, and the fourth part of every churchman's, plate and coin, to be delivered for the king's use. The rage which the publication of this exorbitant stretch of prerogative excited against the king and the cardinal, made it soon evident that the expedient could not succeed. On this occasion the citizens of London were again conspicuously reluctant. Several public meetings of the members of the corporation were held, without coming to any decision. Wolsey became impatient. He sent for the mayor and aldermen, and demanded if they really meant to execute their commission. Because, if they did not, he would himself claim the benevolence. A counsellor, whom the magistrates had brought with them, observed that, by a statute of king Richard III. benevolences could not be exacted. "Your grace," said he, "may, no doubt, obtain something from individuals; but it will either be by the dread of your power, or the hope of your favour." The cardinal replied, that he was surprised to hear any precedent alledged from the usurpation of

they, for venting their malice, will not fail to give evil language against the council.
 * * * * * It seems this amicable grant was a modification of a greater grant, which the commons first condescended to, and after got it part reduced."

Henry VII. in the year 1489, obtained a similar kind of grant from parliament. "Which kind of levying money was first devised by king Edward the fourth. King Henry, following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and good minds towards him, so that he that gave most should be judged to be his most loving friend; and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift."

Holinshed, fol. 771.

Richard. "But, my lord," said this firm and intrepid citizen, "many of his laws are excellent *; and they were all sanctioned by parliament, which exercises the authority of the whole realm." In the deliberations of the common council of the city, it had, prior to this meeting, been resolved that the aldermen should severally apply to their respective wards for the benevolence; the lord mayor, therefore, hearing that benevolences were contrary to law, and observing the cardinal tacitly assenting to the truth of the counsellor's remark, fell on his knees, and entreated that the resolution, since it appeared to be illegal, might be rescinded. "I am content, so far," said Wolsey, "but what will you and the aldermen here give?" "Pardon me, my lord," answered the mayor, "were I to promise, personally, any grant, it might cost me my life;" alluding to the indignation it might occasion in the city. "Your life!" observed

* The english nation is indebted for its best laws to the frequent usurpations of those who attained the throne to the prejudice of the lineal heirs. The laws of William I. and II. regulate the descent, and define the rights, of territorial property to this day. The basis of Magna Charta was laid in the concessions with which Henry I. conciliated the people to his usurpation of the rights of his elder brother. John, who murdered the heir to the crown, granted the Magna Charta. Henry IV, who deposed Richard II, endeavoured to reduce the exorbitant cormorants of the church. Richard III. abolished the prerogative of applying directly to the people for money. In Oliver Cromwell's time, the principles of the Navigation laws were first established. The faction who accomplished the Revolution of 1688, procured, by William and Mary, the establishment of Protestantism. And the bringing in of the hanoverian family defined the privileges of the king more explicitly than they had ever been before. Nations are the better now and then for having an usurper.

the cardinal, "that is, truly, a marvellous fine word for your loyalty! Will the citizens put it in jeopardy? If they dare to do so, they shall certainly feel the king's power. My lord mayor, let you and your citizens, if you be displeased with any thing in this demand, respectfully, and in a proper manner, come to me; and I will endeavour to procure you satisfaction. In the mean time, collect the money, and place it where you think it may be safe, that, if the king shall not happen to need it for the war, it may be returned to the contributors*." From the tenour of this conversation, it is evident that the cardinal was apprized of the difficulty of his situation with the people; and also, that there was some indisposition, the effect of the emperor's policy, in the government to prosecute the war.

XVII. The murmurs in the metropolis were trifling, compared to the vehement discontent which prevailed in other parts of the kingdom. Some of the commissioners were intimidated from their duty, and others exasperated the people, by intolerable insolence. The duke of Suffolk had, in his county, succeeded in persuading many of the wealthy manufacturers to comply with the wishes of government but when they returned to their homes, crowds assembled, and riotously attacked them. The duke ordered, in consequence, the constables to seize all the warlike weapons in private houses; which enraged the multitude still more. The alarm bells were rung; and about four thousand men appeared in arms, threatening with death all the abettors of the benevolence. Suffolk hastily summoned the gentlemen of the county; ordered the bridges to be broken; and requested

* Lord Herbert, 162.

Surrey, who, by the death of his father, was now duke of Norfolk, to come to his assistance. As the restoration of tranquillity, rather than punishment, was the object, Norfolk, on his arrival, rode up to the insurgents, and, with that manly affability which is always found connected with great talents of every kind, and which constitutes one of the chief ingredients of a general's character, he endeavoured to pacify their anger, and advised them to retire. "Poverty and necessity," they exclaimed, "have incited and led us on; and without redress, as we can but die, we will not disperse." He entreated them still, to return quietly to their homes and callings, and assured them, that Suffolk and himself would speak, in their behalf, to the king. At length the ring-leaders surrendered, and were taken to London; and the rest, in token of repentance, went with halters round their necks to the abbey of St. Edmund; and, having done this penance, peacefully dispersed. The rumour of these discontents and insurrections had in the mean while alarmed the king; who, having ordered the privy counsellors to meet in the cardinal's palace, indignantly addressed them, to the following effect: "By whose authority have the commissions for the benevolence been so rigidly enforced? It was not my intention to ask any thing contrary to law; I must, therefore, be informed, by whose advice this grievance has been committed." Each of the counsellors endeavoured to exculpate himself; but Wolsey answered, "That when it was deliberated in what manner the money for the public exigencies should be levied, the whole council, and the judges of the land, agreed that any benevolence might be sought

by commission. For myself, I take God to witness, that I never desired to oppress the people; but, since every man lays the blame from him, I will take it on myself, and answer to the clamour of the nation!" There was so much honest magnanimity in this speech, that it appears to have sensibly affected the king, who immediately said, "Some of you did tell me, that England was never before so opulent; that no trouble would arise from this demand; and that every man would freely give, at my requesting. The truth, I see, is otherwise, and, therefore, there shall be no more of this vexation. Let letters, instantly, be sent to the shires, to stop this unhappy business." Letters were sent accordingly, in which it was declared, that the cardinal had authorised the commissions, sanctioned by the opinion of the judges, and the general sentiment of the king's council; and that at his intercession they were again recalled*. The leaders of the Suffolk insurrection, after this, were taken from prison to the Star Chamber; where the cardinal, presiding, rebuked them sharply for their offence. He placed, before their imaginations, the havoc and ruin that they might have entailed on themselves and others; "but his majesty," said he "notwithstanding the greatness of the crime, is pleased to pardon, provided that securities are found for future good behaviour." The prisoners answered, that they had no sureties to offer. "Indeed," replied the cardinal, "then my lord of Norfolk, here, will be one for you; and, as you are my countymen, I will be the other." And they were dismissed from the bar, and returned cheerfully home. Thus terminated a series of transactions which might have filled the

* Hall.

nation with calamities; and thus a rebellion was quelled, without bloodshed in the field, or that wasteful retribution which the judicature, on such occasions, is too strongly prone to exercise.

XVIII. In order to ascertain how far Charles actually entertained those ambitious and unjust designs, which the Italian states conceived they had reason to fear, ambassadors were sent from London, to demand from him an immediate fulfilment of the terms of his different treaties with Henry. They were instructed to urge, that as the war had been made at the common expense of the two monarchs, their sovereign should participate in the fruits of the battle of Pavia; and, therefore, in treating with Francis, it ought to be stipulated, that those provinces of France which were considered as the rightful inheritance of the English kings, should be restored to Henry. If this could not be obtained by negotiation, then Charles should invade France from the Spanish frontiers, while Henry entered by the way of Picardy; and that both should continue the war until the king was satisfied. As it was agreed in the treaty of Windsor, that each should deliver up to each other, all the usurpers of their respective rights, it was required, that, on the same day in which the princess Mary, the bride betrothed of the emperor, was consigned to his ministers, the French king should be delivered to English officers*. The ambassadors were also instructed to say, that the emperor ought the more readily to comply with their king's wishes in these things, for, being contracted to the heiress of his crown, all the advantage would in the end devolve on himself. The validity of these requisi-

* Holinshed.

sions Charles could not dispute; but it was evident, from their extent, that they constituted only a diplomatic stratagem, by which the obloquy of failing in the engagements would fall upon him. To the application of the ministers he returned a general, and of course an unsatisfactory, answer.

XIX. Meanwhile, ambassadors came from Paris, and were received with great distinction, and much compassion, by Henry. In their interview with Wolsey they were, however, treated more according to the deserts of their government*. He represented to them how perfidious the conduct of France had been; how unsteady to her engagements; and, but for the gracious intentions of his master, how abject she must become. They replied, with the characteristic humility of frenchmen in distress. "If we have offended, surely you have punished us severely. Our towns have been sacked, our people slain, our country desolated, and, brought low in misery, we sue for peace†." With ambassadors so humble it was not difficult to negotiate; but the design of the cardinal was not to reduce France, but to restore the equilibrium of Europe, the great purpose and aim of all his political undertakings. The treaty concluded, in consequence, was singularly generous. It was in fact a defensive league between the two nations. Henry engaged to procure the deliverance of Francis; two millions of crowns, payable in twenty years, by annual instalments, were accepted for the debts and tribute due from France to England; and a bond for a hundred thousand crowns was given to Wolsey, in consideration of the arrears of the pension due to him for the bishopric of Tournay, and the loss

* Holinshed, 887.

† Hall.

that he might incur, by a rupture with the emperor, as he held at this time the bishoprics of Placentia and Badajos, in Spain, besides a pension from Charles himself. The arrears due to the king's sister, the dowager of France, were also to be paid, and her jointure to be regularly continued. The regency of France further engaged that Albany should not return to Scotland during the remainder of the minority of James V.* The treaty arranged was duly ratified by the king†; and peace was proclaimed, in terms flattering to the national pride.

* The circumstance of a bond being given to the cardinal for so large a sum as a hundred thousand crowns, has been held as a proof of his corruption. But when the amount of the arrears of his pension is considered, and the revenues which he derived from Spain, and which there was every probability, at that time, would be arrested, there will be no reason for this opinion. Besides this, it was the practice of the age, on the occasion of concluding treaties, to give large presents, and often benefices, to the ministers, who were commonly ecclesiastics. Cardinal Campeggio got from Henry VII. the bishopric of Salisbury, and the king's agent at Rome, cardinal Adrian, was bishop of Bath.

† At Moor in Hertfordshire, 30 August, 1525.

The terms in which the previous truce was proclaimed are singular, and perhaps without precedent.

"For as much as the lady regent of France, mother unto the French king, by consent of the princes and peers of the seignorial, and others of the council of the same, hath on the behalf of the french king, and of the three estates of the realm of France, sent unto the king's highness honourable ambassadors, sufficiently authorised to sue, require, and labour for peace; and the same, under honourable conditions and offers, to conclude with the king's highness, if it so shall stand with his gracious pleasure," &c. &c. Harleian Collection, No. 442, No. 27, page 55, 15 August, 1525.

XX. The effects of this treaty renovated the spirit of the french nation. The italian states acquired additional confidence in the measures which they had adopted, to prevent the aggressions of the imperialists; and England maintained herself more firmly than ever, on the lofty eminence on which she stood among the nations of Europe. Charles, alarmed by the extent of the confederacy that was rising against him, and by the progress of the Turks in Hungary, hastily concluded, contrary to the advice of his ministers, the treaty of Madrid, with Francis. The first article in the execution of this impolitic engagement was, the exchange of the French king, which ought, certainly, to have been the last, as the terms were such as the french nation was not likely, willingly, to fulfil; although the children of the king were to be delivered as hostages.

XXI. The dauphin and the duke of Orleans, on the day appointed for the exchange, were brought to Bayonne, by the regent, their grandmother, and the officers of state. Francis was at the same time conveyed to Fonterabia, a small town on the sea-coast, between the province of Biscay and the dutchy of Guyen. Accompanied by two persons of high rank, and surrounded by cavalry, he was conducted to the river which separates the frontiers of France and Spain. The princes of France, with their attendants, arrived at the same time on the opposite side. The banks were crowded with spectators. In the middle of the stream lay a vessel at anchor. No person was permitted to be on-board. Francis, with the two imperial officers, and eight men, armed with short weapons, entered a barge, and were rowed towards the vessel. At the

same moment his children, similarly attended, also embarked. The spectators were silent. The boats reached the vessel. The king and the princes were put aboard. The children passed across the deck, without speaking, to the boat which their father had quitted*. He looked at them; sighed deeply; hastily sprung into theirs, and was rapidly conveyed to his own kingdom, and welcomed with shouts and acclamations by his soldiers and subjects. An arabian horse, provided for the purpose, stood ready, caparisoned on the strand. Francis vaulted into the saddle, and exultingly exclaimed, as he galloped away, "I am again a king!"

XXII. As all Europe expected, Francis was not long in convincing Charles that the treaty of Madrid was never intended to be fulfilled. The resolution taken, pretexts for delay were easily found; and no opportunity was lost, by which the French thought they could reduce the ransom of their princes. The emperor, enraged, insisted upon the terms of the treaty; but, in the mean time, Solymán, the sultan, was advancing upon Hungary. Italy was full of uproar and war. England alone, of all the christian nations, enjoyed, in her insular protection, the blessings of peace. In the invasion of Hungary, Lewis, the king, was killed, while flying from the Turks, after a defeat as fatal as the battle of Flodden had been to Scotland.

* Lord Herbert says, they kissed their father's hand; page 184.

† Holinshed says, that the exchange took place on the 18th of March, 1526; but the bonds and letters of thanks and gratitude to the king and cardinal of England were dated at Bayonne on the 17th.

Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, in right of his wife, sister to Lewis, succeeded to the throne, and a truce was concluded with Solymán. But John Lepuse, governor of Transylvania, pretending that the majority of the hungarian nobles had chosen him for their king, complained to several of the christian princes of Ferdinand's usurpation. Solymán, foreseeing the confusion that would arise from this rivalry, prepared to renew the invasion. Ferdinand, fearful of the consequences, sent ambassadors to England, and implored the assistance of Henry his uncle. But, as the english government attributed the progress which the sultan had been allowed to make, wholly, to the ambitious warfare which the emperor still continued to wage, the embassy proved abortive. The ministers were told, that as the brother of their master would not agree to any reasonable terms of accommodation with Francis, the princes of Christendom could not unite against the infidels, and that Solymán must of course prevail*. It could not, indeed, be expected, that while Charles pursued only his own schemes of aggrandisement, to the manifest destruction of the balance of power, that England, protectress of the balance, would virtually abet his designs in Italy, by assisting Ferdinand.

XXIII. But before any decisive measure had come to maturity for the restoration of the french princes, an event happened in Italy still more alarming to all Christendom than the battle of Pavia. Clement, who, after that battle, had declined to unite with the Venetians, finding his hope of making better terms for himself frustrated, had, at length, joined them and the other italian states in a league

* Lord Herbert.

which was called by his name, and of which the king of England had been declared the protector. Bourbon, in consequence, resolved to seize the city of Rome, not only to punish the pope, but to indemnify his troops for the hardships and privations which they had long suffered. Leaving unmolested the army which the leaguers had collected in Tuscany, he marched directly to the metropolis; and encamping on the meadows, near the Tyber, he demanded, by the sound of trumpet, permission to pass through the city to Naples. The pope was astonished, and defenceless. The whole of his guards were with the army in Tuscany; and he had only his anathemas to resist the imperial soldiers. The roman populace, however, felt a glow of the spirit of their ancestors: menials, grooms, and mechanics, voluntarily formed a boisterous, but animating, array; while the rich and the noble retired into their mansions, hoping, by such pusillanimous neutrality, to be respected by the conquerors*; thus serving to demonstrate, that the bold and sturdy vulgar, who have only lives to hazard, are ever the faithful guardians of their country, as they are of freedom. Clement, infatuated by terror, without attempting to negotiate, refused the summons. At break of day, the army, which might be compared to gaunt and famished wolves surrounding a fold, rose from the meadows, and advanced towards the city. A thick mist concealed the temples of Rome, and overshadowed the antient monuments of her military glory. The imperialists advanced under it in silence. In the same moment that the resolute, but undisciplined, multitude on the walls discovered their approach, the assault began.

* Guicciardini, lib. 18.

Bourbon, to animate his men, seized a scaling ladder, and, running forward, was shot, and fell dead on the earth. The prince of Orange flung a cloak over the body, and called on the soldiers to revenge the death of their general. For two hours the citizens defended themselves with a courageous constancy not unworthy of the roman name; but one of those sudden panics, to which undisciplined volunteers, of the bravest individual spirit, are always liable, suddenly seized them, and they fled from their posts, abandoned entirely to fear. The pope, attended by the cardinals and other high personages, was in the chapel of the Vatican, standing at the altar, in anxious dread of the event. The shrieks and cries of flying women and children were heard without. The rites of religion were suspended. The noise rose louder and louder. The clash of arms, and the tumultuous sounds of fighting and vengeance drew nearer and nearer. The trembling prelates looked at one another; and the pope, hastily gathering up the folds of his robes, ran precipitately, followed by the spectators, to the castle of St. Angelo. The city became the victim of the rage and sensuality of the assailants. The shrines were broken, and the bones of holy men were scattered with derision in the streets. The german soldiers, tainted with the principles of Luther, were conspicuously active in the profanation. The effigy of the pope was burnt as anti-christ. But it was not on the senseless objects of superstition that the licentiousness of the soldiers was chiefly manifested. During the pillage, a furious passion for gaming took possession of their minds*.

* Those pious presbyterians, who inveigh against cards as the devil's book, are little aware, that they were an instrument in the great work of the reformation. The vulgar game about that time was the devil and the priest; and the skill of

Some, loaded with plate and treasure, were seen running to where their companions sat at dice, and staking their whole spoil on a throw, returned instantly to pillage more. The dastardly nobles, shut up in their houses, endeavouring, from the windows, to ransom themselves and their families, were obliged to treat with every gang of plunderers, until they had nothing left to offer; and then they were compelled to witness and endure the calamities and the shame which they had vainly hoped to avert. Private mansions were not the only scenes of slaughter and sensual fury. The convents were burst open, and the miserable nuns violated in the midst of corpses and blood. The lamentations of those who despaired of escaping, or were made loathsome to themselves, only served to instigate to new crimes. Some of the soldiers, in the momentary glut of appetite, with a wild hope of obliterating their guilt, set fire to the theatres of these dreadful tragedies, and consumed victims and violators together. The soldiers were not the only criminals. The citizens joined in the carnival of sin; and horrible desires were openly gratified, with applause, in the midst of murders, and the putrefactions of death.

XXIV. All Christendom was filled with horror and grief. Henry vowed immediate vengeance against Charles, whom he regarded as the cause of transactions such as had never before disgraced the christian character, and of calamities, such as Rome, in all the vicissi-

the players consisted in preserving the priest from the devil; but the devil in the end always got hold of him. The scottish game of catch honours is possibly a reformed method of the popish practice; and is dull and stupifying, by having lost the waggery about the de'il and the minister.

tudes of her eventful fortune, had never before suffered. Nor was the cardinal* less eager to avenge what had happened, or to avert what might ensue. It was apprehended, that a vast sum would be levied on all the members of the church for the ransom of the pope and the papal city, and that privileges would be extorted derogatory to the pontifical supremacy and the independence of Christendom. To anticipate these consequences, prompt and comprehensive measures were necessary. A council was summoned, and the flagrant proceedings of the imperial army, as well as the conduct of the emperor, were immediately considered. When his circumstances rendered him scarcely a match for the french king, he became a contrahent in the league of London; and when that league was violated by the French, the english government performed all its engagements and obligations. But immediately after the battle of Pavia, when Charles conceived himself master of the continent, and no longer under any necessity of depending on the aid of England, he assumed an intolence of demeanour which he had never before manifested. In his letters to Henry his uncle, he laid aside the customary courtesy and equality with which he had formerly addressed him, and assumed the consequential style of a superior. He treated Francis while in his possession more as a culprit vassal of his own, than as a prisoner of war; and could it be expected, that, master of the capital

* The cardinal ordered prayers to be said for the pope, and all people to fast four days in the week; but few fasted, for the priests said their commands were to exhort the lay people, and not to fast themselves. But the lay people said the priests should fast first, for the very cause of the fasting was for a priest; few, however, of either fasted.—*Halk*

of Christendom, and of the pope's person, that his ambition would be repressed? It was, therefore, determined, that a convention should immediately be concluded with Francis, which should have for its object the deliverance of Clement; and that, for this purpose, Wolsey should proceed immediately to France, in order to arrange the terms, and to concert the measures essential to give it effect. The objects of this embassy being deemed peculiarly solemn, the preparations were unusually magnificent. The cardinal left London accompanied by many peers and prelates, with a train of above a thousand servants and eighty waggons loaded with baggage and treasure. When he passed through Canterbury, prayers were performed in the cathedral for the deliverance of the pope from his miserable captivity; and during the chaunting of the pathetic orison* prepared for the occasion, Wolsey, convinced of the instability of his own grandeur, and touched with a presentiment of his fall, was observed to weep tenderly.

XXV. The narrative of the cardinal's journey and progress in France strikingly displays his love of magnificence, and the splendour of the age; but the details are more interesting to the antiquary than to the historian. Still, however, it contains circumstances worthy of selection, as they serve to illustrate his domestic character and the decision of his mind in public affairs. When his equipages were landed at Calais, and while the french court was coming to meet him, he ordered all his household into his presence, and addressed them to the following effect. "You know that the king, for certain important affairs, has appointed me on this occasion to be his lieutenant: as

* "Sancta Maria, ora! pro papa nostro Clemente."—*Cavendish*.

such, I shall expect from you reverence accordingly, and I will take care, on my own part, to preserve the dignity with which I have been invested. But it is necessary that I should caution you with respect to the character of the persons whom you are to meet. The nature of frenchmen will make them treat you at the first interview as familiarly, as if they were your old acquaintances; and they will speak to you in their french language, as though you understood every word. Use them in the same way, and familiarly talk with them in english, while they speak to you in french; so that if you do not understand them, they shall not understand you:" and he added, turning facetiously to one of his gentlemen who was a Welshman, "Speak you to them in welsh; and I doubt not but your language will be more puzzling to them than theirs to you. But I pray you all, to be orderly, gentle, and polite; that, after our departure, it may be said, that you knew the duties of your station, and the reverence belonging to your lord: for the commendations which may be obtained by the propriety of your behaviour will reflect honour on your prince and country*." From Calais he went towards Amiens†. Francis having, as a mark of his singular esteem, and by the title of his dearest and great friend, empowered him to pardon all criminals,

* Cavendish.

† It is not one of the least of the curious resemblances which the times of cardinal Wolsey bear to those of Mr. Pitt, that the neighbourhood of Amiens should have been the scene of a treaty, which had the effect of terminating a war in a period so similar to that of the french revolution.

but those who had been guilty of high treason, rape, and sacrilege; the cardinal exercised the royal prerogative of mercy in the different towns through which the embassy passed, and the inhabitants entertained him with latin orations and triumphal processions*. When he had arrived within a short distance of the city, word was brought that Francis and the court were advancing to meet him. He immediately alighted, and entering a small chapel, which stood on the road side, he arrayed himself more sumptuously than usual, and his mule was at the same time caparisoned with gold and crimson velvet. By the time he was again mounted, the king with his guards† had come very near. The cardinal only advanced a little way, and then stopped. Francis, surprised, sent forward one of his attendants to inquire the reason. Wolsey said that he expected to be met half way. The messenger returned, and the king advancing, the cardinal also came forward, and, both alighting at the same time, embraced in the midway between their respective retinues. Francis, having placed Wolsey on his right, and each english gentleman and attendant being marshalled with a frenchman of equal rank, the procession extending nearly two miles in length, proceeded to Amiens. After spending a few days there, the court removed to the castle of Campeigne, which

* Notwithstanding all this public pomp and deference, the cardinal, in private, suffered several little mortifications. In every place where he lodged he was robbed of something valuable; and he met with a hieroglyphical admonition to humility, by a representation, one morning, on his window, of a cardinal's hat with a gallows over it.—*Stow*.

† The guard of Scots that attended the french king, on this occasion, were more comely than all the others.—*Cavendish*.

had been previously partitioned, one division being appropriated for the French, and the other for the English.

XXVI. The business, which had been preluded with so much grandeur, now seriously commenced. Wolsey, during the discussions, was frequently irritated by the chicanery of the french ministers. One evening, while Francis himself was present, he lost all patience, and, starting from his seat, said to the french chancellor, indignantly, " Sir, it becomes not you to trifle with the friendship between our sovereigns ; and if your master follow your practices, he shall not fail shortly to feel what it is to war against England ;" and he immediately left the room, nor could he be persuaded to resume the discussion, until the mother of Francis had entreated him to return. The objects of his mission, by this bold and singular diplomatic artifice, were speedily brought to a conclusion. Three several treaties, forming a league offensive, defensive, and of affinity, were concluded. The first related to a marriage between the princess of England and the duke of Orleans,—the emperor, by marrying the princess of Portugal*, having left her free. The second concerned the affairs of Francis and Charles, the deliverance of the french princes, and the restoration of the duchy of Milan to Sforza. In the event of Henry declaring war against Charles, Francis agreed that the english merchants should enjoy, in the french ports, the same privileges that they enjoyed in the imperial dominions. The third treaty was, however, the principal ; and, both as the object of the embassy, and as the parent of events which have not, perhaps, even at this day, ceased to operate, deserves to be particularly noticed.

* 2d January, 1526.

XXVII. It declared, that while the pope remained a prisoner, no summons for a general council of the church, should take effect within the dominions of France and England ; and the two kings engaged, respectively, that their clergy should publicly protest their detestation of any such convocation. It was also declared, that any commandment, sentence, bull, letter, or brief, proceeding from the pope, in his present situation, tending to the prejudice of the french or english nations, or to the legatine authority of cardinal Wolsey, should not be obeyed ; but that the bearers of them should be punished ; and that during the captivity of the pope, whatsoever the cardinal, in conjunction with the other prelates of England, assembled by the king, determined in the ecclesiastical affairs of the English, should, when sanctioned by his majesty, be valid and obligatory. The like was settled by the French. Thus was a radical alteration made in the constitution of Christendom. Leo X., by becoming a party to the league of London, had degraded the pope to an equality with the secular princes. But this treaty openly declared, that, even in ecclesiastical affairs, the political authority was to be supreme ; and Henry afterwards maintained the principle with his characteristic vigour.

XXVIII. Charles, when informed that the pope was his prisoner, and aware of the amazement which the pillage of Rome had diffused throughout Christendom, endeavoured to traffic with the temper of Henry. He sent him a letter, in which the excesses of the soldiery were palliated ; and, affecting to doubt what should be his own conduct in so difficult a crisis, artfully solicited advice. To the different foreign ministers, at his court, he was equally plausible, but gave

no satisfaction before the terms of the treaties between France and England were known. Then, in order to avert the consequences, he offered, to the french and english ambassadors, to give up those stipulations in the treaty of Madrid which the french nation had resolved not to fulfil; and he sent orders to the prince of Orange, who, after the death of Bourbon, commanded the imperialists in Rome, to set the pope at liberty; but to take care, that from a friend he might not be able to become an enemy. This oracular order puzzled the prince exceedingly; who, being unable to expound it himself, called a council of war. The plain and blunt soldiers who composed the council, having wasted a long time in vain perplexity, at length decided, that in a case so abstruse the main point should be secured. They accordingly stripped the pope of all he had, or could procure*; and turned

* The money which, at this time, Clement was obliged to borrow, in order to satisfy the extortions of the officers, occasioned the first institution of public funds; that species of financial resource which, during the eighteenth century, attracted so much of the attention of the statesmen and political economists of Europe; and which, in this country, is the great object of the care and solicitude of ministers. The money was borrowed at ten per cent. interest. In order to pay the interest, and to liquidate the principal, the *luoghi di monte* were formed, which, under Sextus V., was reduced into a complete system.

The pope has in his disposal a great number of posts or employments, particularly in the roman datary, which, at that time, and till very lately, were extremely profitable to the occupiers. They are all during life; and Sextus ordained, that as the occupiers dropped off, their employments should, for the future, be sold at certain fixed prices to any that would offer for them. He formed a curious table, or tariff, for this purpose, which was never to be exceeded; and the prices were so moderate, as to leave a very considerable profit to the purchasers. These employments

him out of the castle, as the best way of executing the emperor's instructions.

XXIX. Before any advantage could be taken of the politic moderation which Charles had assumed, on learning the result of Wolsey's embassy to France, heralds from France and England arrived*, and, with the customary ceremonies of the age, demanded an audience of the emperor. Their request was granted. Charles ascended his throne, and, being surrounded by his officers and nobles, the heralds were admitted. Over their left arm they carried their armorial mantles, and, making three low obeysances, approached the foot of the throne, where the english king at arms claimed protection and entertainment in a speech to the following effect. "According to the laws and edicts, inviolably guarded by the roman emperors, your predecessors, and by all other kings and princes, we, in the name of our respective sovereigns, have come to declare important matters ; and therefore we beseech your majesty, out of your benign clemency, to afford us, agreeably to those laws and edicts, security and honourable treatment, while we wait your answer ; and, afterwards, to grant us safe conduct till we return to the lands and lordships of our masters." The emperor, having assented in the customary form to this request, the french herald then stepped forward, and

are called *vacabili*, because they are *vacable*, or *transferrable*, from any occupier under sixty years of age to another, though of inferior age. The sums received from the sales of these *vacabili* were to form a sinking fund for the extinction of the national debt, which was to be paid off at certain periods, and in certain proportions.

* 11th November, 1527.

said, "Because your imperial majesty will not agree to equitable terms of peace; nor pay your debts to the king of England*; nor set the pope free; nor leave Italy in quietness; the king, my lord and master, commands me to declare, that he and his brother the king of England must henceforth treat you as an enemy; and from this day forward he will keep no contract for your profit and advantage: but he will exert against you and your subjects all the annoyance of war, until, upon fair and honest terms, you restore his sons; set the pope free; pay the king of England; and leave in tranquillity all his allies and confederates: forty days' respite are allowed to enable your subjects to withdraw from his dominions, and he requires the like for his subjects in yours." The herald then put on his mantle; and the emperor replied, "I perfectly understand what you have said on the part of the king your master; but I am surprised by this defiance; for he is my prisoner, and not eligible to send me a defiance. He has made war with me long, and never did this before; but I trust in God that I shall be able to defend myself. No one regrets what has happened to the pope more than I do: it was done without my knowledge, and yesterday I received letters that he has been set at liberty. As for the sons of your king, it is not my fault that they are not free; I hold them in pawn, and he should redeem them†.

* Charles, having married the princess of Portugal, forfeited to Henry, by not marrying his daughter, five hundred thousand crowns, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Windsor.

† The mean and sordid spirit of Charles and the spanish government, was fully shewn in the treatment which the helpless children of Francis received. They were consigned to the custody of a stupid superstitious wretch, a marquis of

And as to what you say concerning my uncle the king of England, he is not well informed of these affairs; otherwise he would not have sent me this message: I will myself write to him the whole truth.

the name of Virlanga, and imprisoned in the castle of Pedracu. A french officer, who was sent to visit them, found them in a dark dirty room, playing with dogs and dolls, and neglected in their persons. They had forgotten all their native language, and he was obliged to make use of an interpreter. How different was this from the entertainment which James I. of Scotland received while a prisoner in England! The officer presented them with new clothes, which the marquis would not allow to be put on, until first tried upon the bodies of other boys; for he believed that there were witches in France, who could transport, through the air, any one, whose bodies were touched by their ointments. Lord Herbert, in speaking of this circumstance, endeavours, in words without meaning, to give another reason for the conduct of Virlanga; but the notion was not peculiar to that despicable Spaniard,—it was common to the age.

Bodin, according to Reginald Scot*, tells a tale of a nobleman of Lyons, who, being in bed with his mistress, she rose in the night, and, lighting a candle, took a box of ointment, with which she anointed her fair body, and, after a few words spoken, she vanished. The gentleman, seeing this, leapt out of bed, and, taking the candle in his hand, searched for the damsel; and, not finding her, took also the ointment and anointed himself, and was suddenly transported, to Lorrain, into the midst of an assembly of witches.

There were two kinds of this ointment: the ingredients of the one were fat of young children, seethed with baptismal water, in a brazen vessel, to which were added eleoselinum, aconitum, frondes populeæ, and soot; and of the other, sium, acarum vulgare, pentaphyllon, the blood of a bat, solanum somniferum, and oleum, mixt up together.

“Witches,” says Scot, “are women which be commonly old, lame, blear-eyed, pale, foul, and full of wrinkles; poor, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as

* Discovery of Witchcraft, Ed. 1584.

I never refused the payment of my debts, and I will act as I am in justice bound. But if he will make war, I must defend; and I pray God that I may have no greater occasion to make war on him

know no religion, in whose drowsie minds the devil hath gotten a fine seat. They are lean and deformed, shewing melancholy in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, devilish; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed of spirits*."

The antient scottish practice of accusing a witch was highly commended. "A hollow piece of wood or chest," says Bodin, "is placed in the church, into which any body may freely cast a little scroll of paper inscribed with the witch's name, with the time, place, and fact, of the witchcraft. The keys of the box were lodged with the ecclesiastical inquisitors †." A witch engaged, on being taught, by the devil, the secrets of the craft, not to observe certain ceremonies of the church, to conceal faults at confession, and fastings on Sundays. The reader will here remark, that the acts of witchcraft were injurious to the priesthood.—Burns, the poet, in his incomparable poem of *Tam o' Shanter*, has admirably described the revels of witches at an initiation. Reginald Scot mentions, that they were said in his time "to meet the devil at an appointed place, where they fell a daunsing and singing of bauldie songs, wherein the devil leadeth the danse himself; which danse and other conferences being ended, he supplieth their wants of powders and roots to intoxicate withall, and giveth to every novice a mark either with his teeth or with his claws, and so they kiss the devil's bare buttocks and depart ‡." Bodin mentions, that at these magical assemblies the witches sing, "Har, har, devil, devil, danse here, play here, sabbath, sabbath; and while they sing and danse, every one hath a broom in her hand, and holdeth it up aloft." Their dance was called *La Volta*, and was brought originally out of Italy into France.

When the inquisition was instituted in the twelfth century by pope Dominick III., the crime of witchcraft, as it came afterwards to be considered, was not then

* Reginald Scot, p. 7.

† Reginald Scot, p. 42.

‡ Reginald Scot, p. 43.

than he has received from me." The english herald then answered .
 " The king, my supreme lord, considers peace necessary to the christian world, that the princes may combine to resist the Turk,

known. The inquisition was formed to detect heretical opinions and secret abominations ; and it was in consequence of considering all who were obnoxious to its authority as persons of the same description, that the strange stories of the practices of witches arose in the world.

The origin of the opinion of compacts with the devil is long posterior to the institution of the inquisition. It was first broached by a young fellow who had been condemned by the inquisitors either for carnal or spiritual reprobation, in the hope of thereby saving himself, and of getting rid of his wife *. Strange as it may now seem, there are no accounts of witches, in the sense in which we understand the term, before the year 1400 ; about the time in which John Huss, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, began to preach in Germany. There are innumerable stories of ghosts, apparitions, black, white, and grey ; devils of all colours and qualities, forms and dimensions ; magicians, sorcerers, wizards, and every other kind and sort of superstitious agent ; but, prior to the epoch alluded to, I have not been able to find that there is any account of those social ministers of mischief, which afterwards became so famous by the name of witches. Sociableness is the peculiarity which distinguishes witches from all other traffickers in the mysteries of futurity : none other were wont to hold meetings in churches and other lonely places.

Cardanus, in speaking of the horrible assemblies, which P. Sellus describes, of the "*magical hereticks*" the Eutychians, says, " they had originated in the orgies of Bacchus ; which, having been prohibited, were held secretly : " but they had no pretensions to weird influence.

We suspect not the viciousness and presumption of man, till we attempt to trace the antiquity, and to ascertain the extent of human folly. Many of those who

* Reginald Scot, p. 45.

who has already taken Belgrade, and expelled the knights of St. John from the isle of Rhodes ; and that the heresies and schismatic sects, which have lately arisen, may be repressed. But your commanders

were prosecuted and punished for having entered into compacts with the devil, and whose secret meetings were held in desolate churches and unfrequented haunts, were the early and sincere, but timid, worshippers of Truth. — Such is the malignant efficacy of using terms of reproach, — such is the effect of calling those who hold opinions different from ours by such dreadful names as witches and heretics, whigs and tories, jacobins and methodists ; for they all, when considered with their respective circumstances, but imply opponents to the ruling power.

The celebrated Johannes Weirius, sanctioned by the authority of Andreas Massius, one of the most famous hebrew scholars that ever lived, has shown, that the term which has been translated *witch* in the english version of the Bible is derived from a word that means, literally, *poisoner* ; and is figuratively applied to idolatry, sedition, and other delusive practices *. It has been translated into Latin *veneficium*. The term was applied in a figurative sense originally to those who were afterwards stigmatised by the name of hereticks, when they openly opposed the papal doctrines. As *magician* primitively signified a *wise man*, so *witch* properly signified a *skilful woman*, and was applied to simplers and midwives ; but having become reproachful, by the pretensions of quacks in these professions, it stood, in the public usage, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, as equivalent to *poisoner* ; while it also implied the magical skill and foreknowledge which simplers and midwives were then supposed to possess. In translating, therefore, from the briefs and decretals of the clergy, against those who cherished the opinions of Wickliffe, witchcraft came to be used for what

* The following is a note of all the places in the Bible where the terms *witch* and *witchcraft* are used. Micah, 5 cap. 12 ; Nahum, 3 cap. 4 ; Isaiah, 47 cap. 9 & 12 ; 2 Kings, 9 cap. 22 ; Jeremiah, 27 cap. 9 ; Deuteronomy, 18 cap. 10 ; Malachi, 3 cap. 5 ; Exodus, 7 cap. 2 ; Daniel, 2 cap. 2 ; 2 Chronicles, 33 cap. 6 ; 1 Samuel, 1 cap. 23 ; and Exodus, 23 cap. 23. — The law rendered, “ thou shalt not suffer a *witch* to live,” should be “ thou shalt not suffer a *poisoner* to live.”

and army have sacked the city of Rome; taken our holy father prisoner; put the cardinals to ransom; sacrilegiously profaned the churches; slain with the sword religious persons of all descriptions, till the air and the earth have been infected*, and the Wrath of Heaven has come down demanding reparation. The debates and contentions between you and the french king are the roots and causes of these evils; and my sovereign has in vain proposed to you terms of reconciliation. These things, with those that have been related by the french herald, have induced him to adopt an ultimate resolution. He has concluded a league with Francis and other confederates, to

signified only heresy. Hence the origin of confounding the secret meetings of the reformists with the rites of wizards and the orgies of the Eutychians. After the Reformation, the laws, which had been chiefly enacted against the secret followers of Wickliffe, as creatures of the most detestable kind, came to be enforced against those miserable human beings whom Reginald Scot has described and vindicated. I cannot conclude this note, without quoting a speech of the celebrated judge, sir Matthew Hale, on charging the jury at the trial of several witches who were condemned at Bury St. Edmunds, on the 10th March, 1664. I quote from a report of the trial before me. "That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt of at all: for, first, the Scriptures had affirmed so much; secondly, the wisdom of all nations had provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime; and such hath been the judgment of this kingdom, as appears by that act of parliament which hath provided punishments proportionable to the quality of the offence." The unhappy victims of superstition were condemned and executed on Monday the 17th March, "but they confessed nothing." So much for the state of the wisdom of our ancestors eighty years after the publication of Reginald Scot's curious and benevolent book.

* At this time a pestilence raged in most parts of Europe.

constrain you, by force of arms, to act with equity ; and I am authorised to offer, once for all, the conditions which have been already proposed." He concluded the defiance with the proposal of forty days' respite. Having put on his mantle, the emperor answered to the same effect as he did to the other herald ; and afterwards wrote a long representation, in which he recapitulated many circumstances of complaint, which he had against the government of Henry, and particularly against the cardinal*. — England gained nothing by the wasteful wars in which she had embarked, chiefly on his account : Charles endeavoured to appropriate all the fruits of the battle of Pavia to himself, in despite of positive stipulations by treaty ; and, by the sack of Rome, the frame of Christendom, of which Henry was the declared champion and defender, was nearly overthrown.

XXX. Wolsey, after his return from France, on opening the Michaelmas term, addressed the judges, and the other eminent persons then assembled, upon the subject of his embassy, and the treaties which he had concluded with Francis ; stating, that such was the reciprocity and friendship established between the two kingdoms, that they would, in future, appear but as one monarchy. But the nation could not understand how it was for their advantage that the king should become so familiar with their old and deadly enemy, and abandon his own nephew, for whose behalf he had so urgently asked them for money ; and they had ceased to feel much interest in the fate of the pope. The merchants foresaw the loss of their trade

* Lord Herbert, 218.

with Spain and the Netherlands; and doubted if all the advantages which might be derived from the opening of the french ports would be an equivalent. A new war was also probable; and the people, unable to comprehend the views of the cardinal, but witnessing his ostentation and arrogance, began to be infected by the discontents of the nobility and ecclesiastics, whom he had mortified by his talents, and offended by his justice. Wolsey had, indeed, attained the meridian of his fortune. In every transaction abroad, his name was mentioned and his influence felt. The learned and the artists of all countries came trooping to his gates, and the kingdom resounded with the fame of his affluence, and the noise of the buildings which he was erecting to luxury and knowledge. His revenues, derived from the fines in the legatine court, the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, and the abbey of St. Alban's, with several other english bishoprics, which were held by foreigners, but assigned to him at low rents for granting them the privilege of living abroad, together with his pensions from Charles and Francis, the emoluments of the chancellorship, the revenues of the bishoprics of Badajos and Placentia, in Spain, with rich occasional presents from all the allies of the king, and the wealth and domains of forty dissolved monasteries, formed an aggregate of income equal to the royal revenues. His house exhibited the finest productions of art, which such wealth could command in the age of Leo X. The walls of his chambers were hung with cloth of gold, and tapestry still more precious, representing the most remarkable events in sacred history*, for the easel was then

* The subjects of the tapestry consisted of triumphs, probably roman; the

subordinate to the loom. His floors were covered with embroidered carpets, and sideboards of cypress were loaded with vessels of gold. The sons of the nobility, according to the fashion of the

story of Absalom, bordered with the cardinal's arms; the petition of Esther, and the honouring of Mordecai; the history of Sampson, bordered with the cardinal's arms; the history of Solomon; the story of Susannah and the elders, bordered with the cardinal's arms; the history of Jacob, also bordered; Holofernes and Judith, bordered; the story of Joseph, of David, and of St. John the Baptist; the history of the Virgin; the passion of Christ; the Worthies; the story of Nebuchadnezzar; a pilgrimage;—all bordered. His chapel had three organs, and was ornamented with statues of St. John, the virgin, the mother and child, St. Matthew, St. Anthony, St. Barbara, and pictures made of inlaid wood and ivory. Some of these latter kinds of pictures were, in that age, made in a very superior style. A catalogue of part of his furniture is in the British Museum.

Dr. Barnes, one of the martyrs of the Reformation, raised his voice against the inordinate pomp of the cardinal, in a sermon which he preached at Cambridge; for which he was summoned before him. "What, master doctor," said Wolsey, had you not sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people; but that my golden shoes, my poll-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my cross, did so offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jolily, that day, laughed to scorne. Verily, it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage*, than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of redde gloves, I should say bloudy gloves (quoth you), that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." Barnes answered: "I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience." "Then," said the cardinal, "how

* What could the cardinal mean by this? Were stages, in his day, common? What kind of stages could he allude to? The princess Mary acted in one of Terence's comedies, at an entertainment which the king gave the french commissioners after the banquet of Hampton Court.

age, attended him as pages* ; and the daily service of the household corresponded to the opulence and ostentation of the master.

think you, were it better for me, being in the honour and dignity I am, to coyne my pyllers and poll-axes, and to give the money to five or six beggers, than for to mayntaine the commonwealth by them, as I do."

Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. I. page 356.

* "He had, also, always nine or ten lords, who had each two or three (servants) to wait on them, except the earl of Derby, who had five."—*Cavendish*.


Hume speaks of the young nobility wearing the cardinal's livery as if such a thing had not happened before, and was peculiar to his household. "Some of the nobility," says the philosophical historian, "put their children into his family, as a place of education ; and, in order to ingratiate them with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants." It was, however, the practice of the time, and of some antiquity. "A custom which had been introduced in former ages, seems in this (Henry VIII.) to have been carried almost beyond credibility : it was that of retaining in the houses of the nobility the sons of their superior dependants, where their educations were completed, who, with a numerous retinue of servants, were all known by the badges of their lord." *Dallaway's Enquiries into the origin and progress of Heraldry in England, page 186.* Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury, who was contemporary with Wolsey, retained young noblemen. And Gavin Douglas, the celebrated bishop of Dunkeld, who was also a contemporary of Wolsey, mentions that he learnt the dialect which he makes use of in his poetry, when he was a page. *Ellis's Early English Poets, vol. i. page 397.* And Douglas was a son of old Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus, a man who was not likely to have allowed his sons to serve as pages, had not the custom been common. The practice, in fact, continued till the reign of Charles I. Dr. Fiddes mentions that, in his time, the then earl of Stafford had a letter of instructions written by the earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, for the benefit of his son William, then in the house of the bishop of Norwich, in which he says, "You shall, in all things, reverence, honour, and obey

XXXI. The entertainment which the cardinal gave at Hampton Court to the french commissioners, who were sent to ratify the league, offensive and defensive, exceeded in splendour every banquet which had, before that time, been exhibited in England. Two hundred and eighty beds, with furniture of the costliest silks and velvets, and as many ewers and basons of silver, were prepared for the guests. The halls were illuminated with innumerable sconces and branches of plate. Supper was announced by the sound of trumpets, and served with triumphal music. But the master was not yet come. He had been detained late in London, and the desert*, which consisted of figures, castles, and cathedrals, in confectionary, with all the emblems of ecclesiastical pomp, and the pageants of chivalry, was on the tables, when he entered, booted and spurred. Having welcomed the guests, he called for a golden bowl, filled with hipocras: the french commissioners were served, at the same time, with another, and they reciprocally drank to the health of their respective sovereigns. He then retired to dress; and, returning speedily to the company, exerted those convivial talents which had first contributed to his attainment of this excessive grandeur. The Frenchmen doubted which most to admire, the mansion, the feast, or the master. Wolsey felt exultingly gratified, and the measure of his greatness could hold no more.

my lord bishop of Norwich, as you would do your parents, esteeming what he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundel, your mother, or myself, should say it; and, in all things, esteem yourself as my lord's page; a breeding which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed to, as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bred as pages, with bishops."

* See Appendix to Dallaway's Enquiries into the origin and progress of Heraldry in England.

BOOK V.



It may still be said, as in the days of queen Elizabeth, that Ireland seems reserved by Almighty God for woes which shall come by her upon England. Causes intrinsically similar to those, which agitated that unfortunate country in the age of Henry VIII. have stained the annals of the present reign with blood. The terrible constancy with which the people have reviled, for more than six hundred years, the english system of rule, must be ascribed to the effect of something vicious in that system. Nor can this be denied. By calling the descendants of the English who settled in Ireland subsequent to the time of Henry II. protestants, and the aboriginal inhabitants catholics, the relative condition of the people will appear to have continued unaltered since that epoch ; and yet, in all the series of the ministers who have successively ruled England, will it be found that any one of them has pursued a wiser policy, than that of cardinal Wolsey ?

II. The earliest authentic descriptions of the Irish represent them as a frank, kind-hearted people, much under the influence of the imagination, enthusiastic in all their passions and pur-

suits, amorous, fond of renown, delighted with war, generous to the distressed, and hospitable to friends and strangers. When polished by education, they excel in the convivial fascination of wit and humour; and they are the most eloquent of all the modern nations. The lower classes are faithful and affectionate where they form attachments; but the strength of their passions makes them lax in their morality. They have little ambition, the consequence of ignorance, and they entertain, for their masters, sentiments that would become the humility of an inferior cast. The men are well formed, tall, and clear complexioned; and the women are more remarkable for the symmetry of their arms and limbs, than for the beauty of their features. In the days of Campion, the men wore their hair cropped close, leaving, on their forehead, a large tuft*, which they thought added to the manliness of their countenance; and, in the present age, the same fashion has been revived. To their national customs the Irish have always been strongly attached; valuing antiquity more than utility. In the time of Wolsey, those who were skilled in the delicacy of their native language, affected to be enraptured by the allusions and apophthegms of the bards and jesters. The chieftains retained tale-tellers, who invented stories for their amusement; and the delight which the nation has always received from wonderful tales, has drawn upon Irishmen the imputation of being credulous†.

* They called it their *glibbe*.

† In the sixteenth century, a remarkable class of adventurers, called *carrows*, who followed no other profession but cards, was entertained among them. These *carrows*, being, commonly, well-born, but without patrimony, gleaned a livelihood

III. The feudal sytem was never generally established in Ireland. The english adventurers in the expedition of Henry II. doubtless received their portions of his conquest on the condition of rendering military service ; but he only subdued a small part of the kingdom, and the antient usages retained, beyond the english bounds, in the reign of Henry VIII., much of their primitive peculiarity. The aboriginal irish law of territorial inheritance was, probably, similar to what prevailed in the northern parts of Europe, before the feudal system was established. It seems to have been an early offset from the more antient and patriarchal rule of clanship. The territorial heir was not, as in Scotland among the clans, the military sutcessor of his father ; nor, as in feudatory states, the superior of the inhabitants of his domain. For, when a commander happened to die, the people resorted to a known appointed place, in order to choose another leader ; and the relation of the deceased who was most admired for his hardihood and exploits, was generally preferred, without reference to his degree of consanguinity. When the election was declared, the successful candidate was placed on a stone consecrated by the use of ages for that purpose. It commonly stood on the top of a hill, and had a foot engraved on it, alleged to be the form of that of the first commander of the district to which

by passing, in quest of play, from house to house among the gentry. To such an infatuated degree were they devoted to this thriftless commerce, that they have sometimes pledged their clothes ; and, when stripped to the skin, have lain by the highways trussed in leaves and straw, inviting the passengers to a game on the green, at which, having nothing else to stake, they put to hazard the gibbs on their foreheads, their nails, and even their limbs and members, to be lost or redeemed at the courtesy of the winner. CAMPION.

the stone belonged*. While standing on the stone, the chief took an oath to preserve all the customs of the country, and the rights of the tanist, or territorial heir. A wand was then delivered to him, by an officer appointed for that part of the ceremony; and, on receiving it, he descended from the stone, and, turning thrice round, backwards and forwards, completed his inauguration. The military command being thus distinct from the possession of the land, domains in Ireland were said to be regulated by tanistrie; and to this peculiarity, and the usages attached to it, the multitudinous funerals of the irish populace, and their custom of assembling in crowds on raths and hills, to discuss their public grievances, may be distinctly traced. The origin of an evil which still severely afflicts the nation, may also be attributed to those antient customs; although the causes, which serve to prolong that evil, cannot now be ascribed to the exercise of popular rights. Under the feudal system, the landlord was induced to cultivate the affection of his vassals, that he might himself the more eminently perform his military service. He allowed them, in consequence, not only to acquire independent property, but to obtain an interest in the soil. As the system fell into decay, the descendants of those vassals who had judiciously managed the favours of their chief, gradually formed the yeomen—a class of men which, as it exists in England, is the most truly respectable

* The antient practice of crowning the scottish kings on the black stone of Scoone, was derived, no doubt, from a similar practice. The black stone of Scoone was carried from Scotland by Edward I. It stands in Westminster abbey, and is placed under the coronation chair of the british kings. There is a prophecy concerning this stone, which says, that wherever it is carried the Scots shall bear away.

of the human race. But the tanistrie proprietor, having no motive to study the predilections of his tenants, sought only to increase his income; and, accordingly, even while the feudal system and practices were still in some degree of force in the neighbouring kingdoms, it was considered as a great misfortune to Ireland that the lands were let at rack-rents from year to year, and often only during pleasure*.

IV. Among other usages which, in the days of Wolsey, stinted the improvement of the Irish, the brehon law deserves to be particularly noticed. By it, all crimes seemed to be estimated only as injuries done to the individuals who suffered; and, as such, were considered as eligible to be compromised at the option of the injured. The widow might compound with the murderer of her husband; the son with his father's; and, in all the varieties of offence, delinquents were not responsible to the public, but only to the offended. This singular traditionary rule of right, in principle so different from the divine and civil laws, is the strongest proof that can be adduced of the originality and antiquity of the irish nation. The progress of jurisprudence tends to take criminal prosecutions out of the hands of individuals, and to vest them in the hands of public ministers: perhaps even in civil actions it has the same tendency; at least, the expense of obtaining legal satisfaction in England, has become so enormous, that many men submit to considerable losses, rather than incur the charges of the lawyers; and it has been found necessary to authorise the justices of the peace to decide those small suits of creditors, which are supposed to affect the claims and dealings of the

* Spenser.

labouring class. But the progress is slow, and the abolition of opinions, which have become habitual notions*, like those which relate to the principles and forms of judicial proceeding, requires long patience and diligent perseverance. It has been the peculiar destiny of Ireland, owing to the exclusive distinction which England has always made between the two great classes into which she has held the inhabitants, never to have been so steadily treated, as to enable her people to acquire those regular habits, which result from a long continued administration of uniform law. Ireland has been as often exposed to the hardships of military rule as she has enjoyed the benefits of civil discipline. After the invasion of Henry II., and prior to the contest between the families of York and Lan-

* In the recent discussions relative to the judicature of Scotland, the consequences of the judges being obliged to deliver their opinions on the bench was not sufficiently considered: nor does it seem to have been thought that it necessarily rendered them personally interested in every trial before them. Where a man delivers an opinion professionally, if it happen that another differ from him, he cannot avoid giving the reasons upon which he formed his opinion; and to maintain the correctness of his reasons is essential to his character. It is thus with the scotch judge; and, perhaps, not only the delays, but the errors of decision, in the court of session, may be attributed to the public deliberations of the judges. Indeed, otherwise, it is not easy to conceive how fifteen men, of the best education of the kingdom, and, commonly, of more than ordinary talents, should not have been able to afford so much satisfaction, nor to decide so correctly, as the common run of juries. The scotch senate of justice, in its very nature, is equivalent to a jury; and the only difference between it and the twelve good men and true of England is, that the former acts individually, and the other collectively. Oblige the scotch judges to deliver their decisions as a body, and the utility of a jury may be fairly questioned in the administration of the scottish law.

caster, some progress was made in subjecting the subjects within the english pale to the laws of the sovereign. But at the unhappy revolution; by which Henry VI. was deposed, many of the nobility, and other influential persons of english origin, came over to this country, and took a part in the civil wars; and the wild Irish, as the inhabitants beyond the pale were called, burst in upon the civilized, and laid waste their cultivation; so that when Henry VIII. came to the throne, scarce a trace of it remained. The popular feuds and animosities were exasperated to the utmost. The subjects of english extraction enjoyed all the public distribution of power; while the aboriginal race, by far the most numerous, sustained the contumelious treatment of an inferior religious order, and were deemed incapable of enjoying the beneficence of jurisprudence*. Continual insurrections, midnight ravages, and frightful assassinations, were the consequence. The alarm was nightly sounded; and the mischief, arising from a divided people, was considered as a reason for perpetuating the distinctions that produced it.

V. When Wolsey was appointed prime minister, Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, was deputy of Ireland. His father earl Thomas, for more than thirty years, had enjoyed the same trust, and, in the course of that time, the power of the family had been much augmented; but his contentions with James Butler, earl of Ormond, had proved mischievous to the prosperity of the country. In the great debate of the York and Lancaster question, they had taken

* Sir John Davies, in the year 1612, published a curious tract on this subject. It is worthy of being reprinted at the expense of the irish nation.

opposite sides; and, by that means, spread in Ireland calamities similar to those which ravaged England. Kildare embraced the cause of the York family, and Ormond that of the Lancaster. After the death of earl Thomas, Gerald was appointed deputy, and some steps were taken to improve the condition of the irish people. His administration commenced, indeed, favourably to the interests of his country; and he reduced the inhabitants, if not into subjection, at least into awe. In order to end the feud between the Geraldines and the Butlers, he matched his sister Margaret with Pierce Butler, earl of Ossory; whom, at the decease of earl James, the rival of his father, he assisted to rescue the earldom of Ormond from the usurpation of a bastard. Whether, in the mode or means of accomplishing this, he had exceeded the limits of his authority, and put forth a vigour beyond the law, or was falsely accused, is not very clear; but he was called by the cardinal to England in order to answer, before the privy council, to charges of misdemeanour*. His successor was Surrey, whose administration has been already alluded to; and which was still more distinguished than Gerald Fitzgerald, by efforts to advance the authority of the laws, and to improve the judicature.

VI. One day, as Surrey sat at dinner in the castle of Dublin, he was informed that the clan of Omore was up in great force, and violating the english pale. The troops were immediately ordered out, and, headed by himself, proceeded to attack them. An incident which took place in this affair is singularly characteristic of the men and of the times. The mayor of Dublin, John Fitzsimons, raised

* 1521.

a party of volunteers, and, next morning, joined the lord lieutenant. The Omores, as the king's forces approached, divided themselves into companies; one of which, understanding that the baggage, dragging behind, was slenderly guarded, passed into the rear of the citizens, and attacked the guard; among which were some of the lord lieutenant's men, who instantly fled. The baggage, thus deserted, would have been captured, but for the bravery of a relation of the mayor, Patrick Fitzsimons, a stout and resolute youth, who manfully compelled the rebels to retreat. Having himself killed two, he cut off their heads, which he carried with him to the mayor's tent. The soldiers who had fled so dastardly, conceiving that the baggage must have been lost, told their lord that Patrick Fitzsimons ran away, and that the rebels were too numerous for them to resist. The earl went instantly to the mayor in a passion, and told him, that Patrick was a cowardly traitor in deserting his duty. "What am I?" cried the youth, starting out of the pavilion in his shirt, with a bloody head dangling in each hand; "My lord, I am no coward; I stood true while your men gave me the slip; I rescued the baggage, and these are the tokens of my manhood," throwing down the heads. "Sayest thou so, Fitzsimons?" cried Surrey, pleased with his spirit, "I cry thee mercy, and, by saint George, I would to God I had been with thee in that skirmish." He then called for a bowl of wine, and drinking to the volunteer, rewarded his valour. Soon after this insurgency, which was speedily quelled, war being proclaimed against France and Scotland, Surrey was recalled home, and appointed to the army on the scottish borders*. His valour, integrity, and good

* 1523.

humour, established his reputation as a statesman among the Irish; by whom he was long after remembered with affectionate esteem.

VII. The earl of Ossory, who had married Margaret Fitzgerald, was next appointed deputy. In the meantime, Kildare was acquitted in England, and, having married a sister of the marquis of Dorset, returned to Ireland. Notwithstanding the marriage of Ossory, the Geraldines still hated the Butlers; and his administration was, in consequence, so troubled by their disputes, that it was deemed necessary to send commissioners* from England to endeavour, by civil means, to restore the public tranquillity. The result of their inquiries proving disadvantageous to Ossory, he was deposed, and Kildare reinstated in the lieutenancy. At their return, they brought with them a Fitzgerald, who, during Ossory's administration, had murdered an Irish privy counsellor, for keeping a record of the excesses of the Geraldines. While the murderer, after his condemnation, was led, with a halter round his neck, and a taper in his hand, slowly, through the streets of London, towards the place of execution, a pardon was obtained for him. The cardinal was vexed by this unexpected, and, as he thought, injudicious, interposition of the regal mercy; and his chagrin, though occasioned by the love of justice, was construed into an opinion, that he was hostile to the blood of the Geraldines†.

VIII. Ossory, mortified by his removal from the government, directed his spleen against the means and measures of his successor,

* Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; Ralph Egerton; Dr. Denton, dean of Litchfield.—*Holinshed*, 883.

† *Holinshed*.

who indeed was not scrupulous in his mode of ruling; but often furnished just matter of complaint, with respect to his treatment of the subjects, and particularly in the non-performance of his duty towards his cousin the earl of Desmond, who had entered into a treasonous correspondence with the french king, and afterwards with the emperor. Ossory, in consequence, lodged information against Kildare, and he was a second time summoned to London. The charges, at first, were not supposed to be of a very heinous nature; and he was allowed to leave his brother deputy during his absence. In the course, however, of the investigation, other circumstances, of a more serious kind, were discovered; and when he was, subsequently, brought before the Privy Council, the cardinal assailed him with much asperity; but he replied with admirable shrewdness, and that bold familiar eloquence peculiar to his countrymen. Wolsey began by saying, "I know well, my lord, that I am not the fittest man at this table to accuse you, because your adherents assert, that I am an enemy to all nobility, and particularly to your blood. But the charges against you are so strong that we cannot overlook them, and so clear that you cannot deny them. I must, therefore, beg, notwithstanding the stale slander against me, to be the mouth and orator of these honourable gentlemen, and to state the treasons of which you stand accused, without respecting how you may like it. My lord, you well remember, how the earl of Desmond, your kinsman, sent emissaries with letters to Francis, the french king, offering the aid of Munster and Connaught for the conquest of Ireland; and, receiving but a cold answer, applied to Charles, the emperor. How many letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats, have been sent

to you to apprehend him, and it is not yet done. Why? Because you could not catch him; nay, my lord, you would not, forsooth! catch him. If he be justly suspected, why are you so partial? If not, why are you so fearful to have him tried? But it will be sworn to your face, that to avoid him you have winked wilfully, shunned his haunts, altered your course, advised his friends, and stopped both ears and eyes in the business; and that, when you did make a show of hunting him out, he was always beforehand, and gone. Surely, my lord, this juggling little became an honest man called to such honour, or a noble man with so great a trust. Had you lost but a cow or a carrion of your own, two hundred retainers would have started up at your whistle, to rescue the prey from the farthest edge of Ulster. All the Irish in Ireland must have made way for you. But, in performing your duty in this affair, merciful God! how delicate, how dilatory, how dangerous, have you been! One time he is from home; another time he is at home; sometimes fled, and sometimes in places where you dare not venture. What! the earl of Kildare not venture! Nay, the king of Kildare; for you reign more than you govern the land. When you are offended, the lowest subjects stand as rebels; when you are pleased, rebels are very dutiful subjects. Hearts and hands, lives and lands, must all be at your beck. Who fawns not to you, cannot live within your scent, and your scent is so keen, that you track them out at pleasure." While the cardinal was speaking, the earl frequently changed colour, and vainly endeavoured to master himself. He affected to smile; but his face was pale, his lips quivered, and his eyes lightened with rage. "My lord chancellor," he exclaimed, fiercely, "my lord chancellor, I beseech you, pardon

me. I have but a short memory, and you know that I have to tell a long tale. If you proceed in this way, I shall forget the half of my defence. I have no school tricks, nor art of recollection. Unless you hear me while I remember, your second charge will hammer the first out of my head." Several of the counsellors were friends of the earl; and, knowing the acrimony of the cardinal's taunts, which they were themselves often obliged to endure*, interfered, and intreated,

* Skelton, who was the Peter Pindar of his day, gives the following ludicrous description of the cardinal, in a satire for which he prudently took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster abbey.

" Our barons are so bold,
 Into a mouse hold the wold
 Run away and creep;
 Like as many of sheep,
 Dare not look out a dur,
 For dread of the mastiff cur;
 For dread of the butcher's dog,
 Would worry them like a hog.
 For if this cur do gnar,
 They must all stand afar,
 To hold up their hand at the bar.
 For all their noble blood
 He plucks them by the hood,
 And shakes them by the ear,
 And brings them in such fear,
 He baiteth them like a bear,
 Like an ox or a bull.
 Their wits, he saith, are dull :

that the charges might be discussed one by one. Wolsey assenting to this, Kildare resumed. "It is with good reason that your grace is the mouth of this council; but, my lord, the mouths that put this

He saith they have no brain,
Their estate to maintain;
And makes to bow the knee
Before his majesty.

Judge of the king's laws,
He counts them fools and daws;
Sergeants of the coif eke,
He sayeth they are to seek,
In pleading of their case
At the Common Pleas,
Or at the King's Bench;
He wringeth them such a wrench,
That all our learned men,
Dare not set their pen
To plead a true trial
Within Westminster-hall.
In the Chancery where he sits,
But such as he admits,
None so hardy are to speak.

He saith, 'Thou huddy peak,
Thy learning is too lewd,
Thy tongue is not well thew'd
To seek before your grace,
And only in this place.'
He rages and he raves,
And calls them canker'd knaves.

tale into yours are very wide, and have gaped long for my ruin. What my cousin Desmond has done I know not ; I curse him for holding out so long. If he be taken in the traps that I have set for him, my adversaries, by this heap of heinous charges, will only have proved their own malice. But if he be never taken, what is Kildare to blame more than Ossory, who, notwithstanding his high promises, and having now the king's power, you see, takes his own time to bring him in. Cannot the earl of Desmond stir, but I must advise ? Cannot he be hid, but I must wink ? If he is befriended, am I, therefore, a traitor ? It is truly a formidable accusation ! My first denial confounds my accusers. Who made them so familiar with my sight ? When was the earl in my view ? Who stood by when I let him slip ? But, say they, I sent him word. Who was the messenger ? Where are the letters ? Confute my denial. Only see how loosely this idle gear of theirs hangs together ! Desmond is not taken. Well ! Kildare is in fault. Why ? Because he is. Who proves it ? Nobody. But it is thought ; it is said. By whom ?

Thus royally he doth deal,
Under the king's broad seal.
And in the chequer he them checks,
In star chamber he nods and becks,
And beneath him their so stout,
That no man of them dare rout,
Duke, earl, baron, nor lord,
But to his sentence must accord ;
Whether he be knight or squire,
All must follow his desire."

His enemies. Who informed them? They will swear it. Will they swear it, my lord? Why, then they must know it. Either they have my letters to show, or can produce my messengers, or were present at a conference, or were concerned with Desmond, or somebody betrayed the secret to them, or they were themselves my vicegerents in the business: which of these points will they choose to maintain? I know them too well, to reckon myself convicted by their assertions, hearsays, or any oaths which they may swear. My letters could soon be read, were any such things extant. My servants and friends are ready to be sifted. Of my cousin Desmond, they may lie loudly; for no man here can contradict. As to myself, I never saw in them so much sense or integrity, that I would have staked on their silence the life of a good hound, far less my own. I doubt not, if your honours examine them apart, you will find that they are but the tools of others, suborned to say, swear, and state any thing but truth; and that their tongues are chained, as it were, to some patron's trencher. I am grieved, my lord cardinal, that your grace, whom I take to be passing wise and sharp, and who, of your own blessed disposition, wishes me so well, should be so far gone in crediting these corrupt informers, that abuse your ignorance — of Ireland. Little know you, my lord, how necessary it is, not only for the governor, but also for every nobleman, in that country, to hamper his uncivil neighbours at discretion. Were we to wait for processes of law, and had not those hearts and hands, of which you speak, we should soon lose both lives and lands. You hear of our case as in a dream, and feel not the smart of suffering that we endure.

In England, there is not a subject that dare extend his arm to fling a peer of the realm. In Ireland, unless the lord have ability to his power, and power to protect himself, with sufficient authority to take thieves and varlets whenever they stir, he will find them swarm so fast, that it will soon be too late to call for justice. If you will have our service to effect, you must not bind us always to judicial proceedings, such as you are blessed with here in England. As to my kingdom, my lord cardinal, I know not what you mean. If your grace thinks that a kingdom consists in serving God, in obeying the king, in governing the commonwealth with love, in sheltering the subjects, in suppressing rebels, in executing justice, and in bridling factions, I would gladly be invested with so virtuous and royal a state. But, if you only call me king, because you are persuaded that I repine at the government of my sovereign, wink at malefactors, and oppress well-doers, I utterly disclaim the odious epithet, surprised that your grace should appropriate so sacred a name to conduct so wicked. But however this may be, I would you and I, my lord, exchanged kingdoms for one month. I would, in that time, undertake to gather more crumbs than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. You are safe and warm, my lord cardinal, and should not upbraid me. While you sleep in your bed of down, I lie in a hovel; while you are served under a canopy, I serve under the cope of heaven; while you drink wine from golden cups, I must be content with water from a shell; my charger is trained for the field, your gennet is taught to amble; while you are be-lorded and be-graced, and crouched and knelt to, I get little reverence, but when I cut the rebels off by the knees." This spirited retaliation touched the cardinal's pride to the quick;

and it was evident that he restrained his passion with the greatest difficulty. The counsellors, gratified in seeing him so treated, would have laughed, but they had not the courage. As Kildare was neither to be trifled with nor brow-beaten, and the evidence was not direct enough to stand the test of so shrewd a mind, Wolsey rose from the table, and the earl was detained until better proofs could be produced. Surrey, who had succeeded to the title of Norfolk by the death of his father, became bail for Kildare to the whole extent of his estate and life*. The earl, being afterwards pardoned, returned home†. During the remainder of the cardinal's administration, Ossory continued deputy, having superseded the brother of Kildare, who had been left in the government when that nobleman was

* 1527.

† There is a story told of Kildare, but it seems so imperfectly authenticated that I have omitted it in the text. It is reported that he was found guilty of treason, and, being in the Tower a prisoner, was one evening amusing himself at some game of pastime with the lieutenant, when a mandate came from the cardinal for his execution. The earl, suspecting some foul play, persuaded the lieutenant, who, by right of office, had access to the king at all times, to go and ascertain whether his majesty was privy to the warrant. The king, who admired the character of Kildare, is said to have been greatly astonished at the presumption of the cardinal, and to have forbade the execution. But the story is altogether exceedingly confused, and there is no trace of Kildare having been at all tried. Besides, the warrant could not have been issued without the sign manual; and the cardinal was not charged in his impeachment with ever having attempted to exercise an authority so illegal, as to send forth a warrant for execution, without having obtained the king's consent and signature.

summoned to England. He was a man of mean qualifications; but, by the assistance of his wife, he ruled with vigour and utility. The countess was a woman of surprising majesty of demeanour; august in her understanding; possessed of masculine fortitude; and of wisdom fit for a sovereign. But the merits and virtues of her character were chilled and overshadowed by the vast pride peculiar to her family*.—The O'Neals and O'Connors, excited by the Fitzgeralds, disturbed the government of her husband; but the annals of Ireland, during the lieutenancy of Ossory, as well as in the transactions already related, afford evidence honourable to the administration of Wolsey.

IX. The Reformation, next to the preaching of the apostles, is one of the most important occurrences in the history of human affairs. Prior to the reign of Henry VIII., the doctrines of the gospel had not very obviously affected the public transactions of the world. It was only opinions and principles, surreptitiously concealed under the christian name, that really guided the policy of rulers, and the conduct of men †.

* Holinshed.

† See Middleton's letter from Rome. There is a curious history connected with this celebrated performance. In the year 1667, a book was printed, in french, at Leyden, which had been translated into english, under the title of "The Conformity between modern and antient Ceremonies." The translator says, the original is so scarce, that, though conversant in large well-furnished libraries, he never met with but two copies; and he, therefore, conceived, that the impression may have been bought up by the roman priesthood; a mode of assassinating truth which they often practised. However, it would appear, that certainly more than two copies did

The ritual of the church differed but little from that of the pantheon; but the distinguishing characteristics of saints and demi-gods indicated, that some change had taken place in the notions of mankind.

exist in this country; for the motive which led him to make the translation arose out of the great popularity of the letter from Rome by Conyers Middleton. That learned doctor of divinity, in his preface to his work, says, "Many writers, I know, have treated the same subject before me; *some of which I have never seen*, but those I have looked into, handle it in a manner so differently from what I have pursued, that I am under no apprehension of being thought a plagiarist, or to have undertaken a province already occupied." But, upon comparing his performance with the translation alluded to, there certainly never was a more clear case of plagiarism; for there is nothing at all important in the doctor's letter which is not taken from the other book, although there are many things in the other book which are not in the doctor's letter. He has, in fact, being a sort of a classical man, confined himself to the pilfering of the quotations and allusions to the classics. I should not have noticed this literary fraud, but for a slander which Middleton has propagated against the cardinal. He says, in his dedication to the bishop of Norwich, after speaking of the effects which the freedom of printing had in dissolving the influence of the papal spells and superstition, "In the very infancy of printing amongst us, cardinal Wolsey foresaw this effect of it, and, in a speech to the clergy, publicly forewarned them, that if they did not destroy the press, the press would destroy them." Now, this not only shows the most complete ignorance of the history of Wolsey, but also of the origin of the church of England, of which the author was a member; but is as false in statement, as some other passages from his pen. The truth is, that what Middleton ascribes to the cardinal, was said by the vicar of Croydon, in Surrey, in a sermon which he preached at Paul's Cross, about the time that the New Testament was translated. "We must," said the vicar, "root out printing, or printing will root out us." See *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, vol. i. page 927. See also *Lewis's History of the Translations of the Bible*, 8vo. edit. page 71. — It is curious to trace the regular descent of scandal, when it is once

Before the promulgation of christianity, the objects of admiration were military achievements; and the actions which entitled to posthumous reverence evinced only superior talents for spreading desolation and crimes. But, at the epoch of the Reformation, the same kind of applause was bestowed on other qualities; and the men, who manifested in their lives the greatest contempt for the pleasures of sense, were deemed the mirrors of human conduct. The change that had taken place in the sentiments of the world, elevated the priest above the soldier. But the attributes of the priest were not those of the christian; and a revolution was necessary to display in what the difference consisted. The Reformation effected this. The epoch, however, has still to arrive, when christianity shall command its proper influence; although the priest, with respect to the christian; holds now, perhaps, the same relative state that the hero did to the saint in the days of cardinal Wolsey. The history of the church, from the age of Charlemagne to that of Napoleon, — from the full establishment of the papal supremacy to its degradation, — affords a various and impressive theme. It demonstrates the insignificancy of military talents on the destiny of mankind; and mortifies the pride of statesmen, by showing that their influence is small and secondary; and that they are themselves but the implicit agents of deep and general predilections, previously nourished among the public.

X. After the death of Charlemagne, the kingdom of France fell into great disorder. The barons rose in continual hostility against

sanctioned by an authority. I remember, in reading a book of travels (I think Barrow's in China), of meeting with a repetition of the aspersion, which Middleton, in his ignorance, has thrown out on Wolsey.

one another; and, that reprobate barbarity, in which the vices of civilization are joined with the atrocities of the savage state, menaced the inhabitants. The priesthood attempted to restrain this ruinous anarchy; and, by enjoining fasts, and threatening excommunications, vainly attempted to oppose the indefatigable spirit of aggression, by which it was propagated and maintained. Entreaty and exhortation having failed, recourse was had to stratagem. In the year 1041, Durand, a carpenter, in the city of Puy, in Avergne, had rendered himself remarkable, and a fit instrument for the purposes of the clergy, by the warmth of his religious enthusiasm, and the simplicity of his heart. One day, while alone in the fields, a person, who called himself the Redeemer, delivered to him a letter sealed with a representation of the sacred mother seated in a chair, and holding the infant upon her knee; a device not uncommon for the seals of monasteries. The letter was written from Jesus Christ, and addressed to the people, entreating them, for his sake, to suspend their warfare. Durand conceived that he had seen a vision, and he fancied himself commissioned, by divine authority, to be the advocate of peace on earth, and good will to man. The news of the apparition, and of the holy letter, spread far and wide; and the festival of the ascension being at hand, the bishop requested Durand to come, on that day, and to publish his mission in the cathedral. A vast multitude, attracted by the circumstances, filled the church. Among the spectators were two noblemen of the neighbourhood, between whom a deadly feud had long been cherished, and which had proved calamitous to all within the scope of their conflicts. Durand was placed on a high platform in the middle of the congre-

gation. Animated by the notion of the sublimity of his trust, he delivered his tale and message with such sincere and fervent eloquence, that the whole audience presently began to weep and sigh, and to praise the love and compassion of Jesus. The hostile noblemen, subdued by benevolent sympathy, embraced each other in token of obedience to the Redeemer's request, and swore on the evangelists to live in concord and friendship. The attendants followed the example of their masters. All among the crowd, who had been at variance with each other, renounced their animosities. Badges of tin, impressed with the figures on the sealing of the letter, were distributed; and whoever piously assumed them, became immediately converted from malicious propensities, and, in the presence of those who had done them the greatest wrong, forgot their revenge, and were filled with charity and love. The sympathy of this benevolent superstition spread rapidly over the whole country; and the effects were so singular, so happy, and apparently so miraculous, that the tranquillity which ensued was called the truce of God*.

XI. The success which attended this stratagem suggested the scheme by which the preaching of Peter the hermit, soon after, was rendered still more influential. The hermit in his appearance resembled the carpenter. His person was equally mean and despicable, and his face and look ordinarily wore the soft and sleepy aspect of idiotcy; but he possessed a glowing mind, an eloquent tongue, and when animated by the topics of his subject, his countenance beamed with astonishing energy, his eyes flashed with the rapture of inspira-

* Favyn's Theatre of Honour.

tion, and none could withstand his call to arise and rescue the holy sepulchre. The consistory, perceiving the enthusiasm which his active zeal had kindled throughout Christendom, contrived the means of giving it the semblance of miraculous effect. A council was summoned to meet at Clermont, where many princes and nobles, prepared by art, and influenced by the general passion, met the pope, who exhorted them to assume the cross, and to exert their powers and faculties for the deliverance of the Holy Land. The priests, tutored for the occasion, and the seculars, predisposed by the preaching of the hermit, at the conclusion of the pope's oration, exclaimed, that God willed all to undertake the enterprise; and therefore they resolved to obey. On the same night their resolution was known, it is said, throughout Christendom; a circumstance, then, believed to have been effected by supernatural agency, but easy of explanation, when the regular correspondence among all the papal officers, and the predetermined result of the council, are considered.

XII. The holy war lasted nearly two hundred years; in the course of which a great intercourse arose between the remote parts of Christendom, and those places which still retained relics of the grandeur of Rome, and the learning of Greece. The chiefs and vassals of the west, in their march to Palestine, were surprised by the view of arts and manners, of which they had never heard. At their return, they related their adventures and the wonders that they had seen. Knowledge was, in consequence, disseminated. Sometimes they brought with them specimens of the productions of those strange and splendid regions; and the exhibition of rarities

excited a general desire to possess them. The spirit of commerce was awakened ; and the intercourse, which had been opened by the crusades, was, after the war, continued, in order to gratify the demands of the opulent. The revival of literature in Italy sprung from this commerce, and books became an important branch of trade. As the documents of antiquity were multiplied, the oral traditions of the clergy fell in estimation, and a more precise and authentic style of learning was established. This affected the respect previously paid to the assertions of the priests. Many things, devoutly received on ecclesiastical authority, were found very differently stated in the works from which it was alleged that they had been derived ; and forms and doctrines, considered essential to Christianity, were discovered to have been of later growth, the corrupt engraftings of antient error. This moral change was quickened to political effects by the pontificates of Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. ; and the progress of the lutheran heresies showed that the foundations of the papal structure were, in the days of Wolsey, deeply undermined.

XII. The church was a government of opinion ; and the cardinal saw that the clergy would be compelled to resign their influence over the affairs of mankind, unless they could recover that relative superiority of knowledge, by which, in ruder times, they had acquired the ascendancy. What stood, in his mind, as the church of Christ, was the pre-eminency of the priesthood. In the consequences of the lutheran opinions he did not affect to value the precepts, but only the damage and detriment which might ensue to the papal power and dignity, were the priests to declare themselves independent

of each other, and consequently dissolve that mighty confederacy, which had so long ruled and enjoyed the world. His system of ecclesiastical reformation is, therefore, less remarkable for its effects on the progress of knowledge, than on account of its objects. The aim of his designs was, to obtain for the priesthood, generally, the same kind of influence which the institutes of Loyola, afterwards, so wonderfully ministered to procure for the famous society of the Jesuits. It was calculated to render them entitled to possess superiority, although directed to preserve their exclusive privileges. The tendency of human affairs is, perhaps, towards the formation of a system, in which power shall be possessed by right of intellectual attainment; at least, since the period of the Reformation, there seems to have been a gradual converging of the elements of such a system. The influence of the literary character has been evidently augmented; and the unity of sentiment that is publicly propagated by the press, in some degree approximates to the effect of the systematic correspondence of the papal clergy. The first general result of the Reformation was, the transfer of the political power possessed by churchmen into the hands of the hereditary class*. The

* The effect which the progress of society in this country has had in the choice of ministers of state, would afford a curious subject of investigation. In the rude and early times, when war was the business of the people, and the study of the rulers, the ministers were men who had proved their capacity in the field of battle. After the different kingdoms of the heptarchy were consolidated under one crown, and when the clergy had obtained access to the secrets of men's minds, and a separate establishment, the ministers were generally ecclesiastics. On the abrogation of the papal authority, the nobility succeeded to the power and emolument of state admi-

necessary consequence of this has been, that, as much of the detail of ruling depends upon an accurate knowledge of law, and the principles of equity, the hereditary class should either be distinguished by superior legal information; or that it should employ, as agents and ministers, persons so distinguished. And, accordingly, it will not be disputed, that, in all protestant nations, the lawyers have superseded the clergy in the administration of police and the rules of life, in which the substance of political power really consists*.

XIV. Erasmus, with his accustomed sycophancy towards the prosperous great, describes the cardinal's table, surrounded by the wise and learned of the age, as furnished with stars which threw a glorious

nistration: but they, in turn, seem also destined to make way for the lawyers. The military rulers disciplined the people into order and subordination; the clergy reduced into a system (keeping in view the advancement of their own class) those maxims and regulations by which the military preserved submission and obedience; and the nobility, less numerous than the clergy, and more interested in the concerns of the people, have improved and extended, though still with reservations to their own advantage, the laws and usages which their ecclesiastical predecessors introduced.

* I am not qualified to speak on the special privileges of lawyers; but, I believe, that in England they are not liable to arrest for debts; that in open court they may deliver the most libellous slanders, without being liable to prosecution; and that it is absolutely necessary to employ them in many of the most essential circumstances of life. The exclusive privileges and immunities of the lawyers is a curious and interesting topic. They seem, all things considered, to have been of pretty rapid growth since the abolition of the politico-clerical influence.

brightness* ; but it does not appear to have been frequented by any person, with the exception, perhaps, of sir Thomas More, whose works continue to amuse posterity. The object of Wolsey was to produce a general effect ; and the history of his patronage of literature relates, in consequence, more to institutions than to men of genius. In this respect, as in his political measures, he differs advantageously from Leo X. ; but he is not so fortunate in his reputation. His name is not

* Sir Thomas More gives a caricatured description of the cardinal at his table. " It happened one day, that he had, in a great audience, made an oration, wherein he liked himself so well, that at his dinner he sat on thorns till he might hear how they that sat with him might commend it. And when he had sat musing a while, devising, as I thought, upon some pretty proper way to begin ; at last, for the lack of a better, he brought it even bluntly forth, and asked us all how well we liked the oration. But when the problem was once proposed, till it was full answered, no man, I ween, ate one morsel more ; every man fell into so deep a study for the finding of some exquisite praise. For he that should have brought out but a vulgar and a common commendation, would have thought himself shamed for ever. Then said we our sentences by row as we sat, from the lowest unto the highest, in good order, as it had been a great matter of the common weal, in a right solemn council. He that sat highest, and was to speak, was a great beneficed man, and not a doctor only, but also somewhat learned indeed in the laws of the church. A wonder it was to see, how he marked every man's word that spake before him ; and it seemed that every word the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumberance he had to study out a better to pass it. The man even swet with labour, so that he was fain in the while to wipe his face." — Sir Thomas, although he speaks of the personage so bepraised as a great man of Germany, evidently meant Wolsey. The caricature is, however, more disgraceful to the guests than to the patron.

connected with those of poets, historians, and artists; but how many men, the pride of England, and the ornaments of the species, may trace the origin of their best attainments to the institutions and efforts of Wolsey! The breadth and solidity of his designs and undertakings for promoting knowledge, entitle him to be placed very high, if not pre-eminent, among the patrons of learning. He was, in the emphatic sense of the term, a Statesman; and his munificence to literature was not bestowed on individuals, but distributed with a general liberality, for the perpetual benefit of the realm. The mind is disposed to contemplate this part of his policy with unmingled satisfaction; and notwithstanding the overweening ostentation of his household and deportment, the aim with which he reformed the laws of the universities, founded colleges, and procured eminent professors to alter the stagnant state of learning, entitle him to be considered as animated by that noble ambition, which has immortality for its motive, the improvement of mankind for its means, and the gratitude of posterity for its reward.

XV. The fine arts are the offspring of literature, which, in civilized nations, always receives some new tincture and modification from every general calamity. The interest excited by public misfortunes gives rise to the details of historians, and their narratives furnish incidents and materials for the descriptions of the poets, from whom the imitative artists derive their subjects. In the reign of Henry VIII., particularly during the administration of Wolsey, scarcely a single work of fancy was published; but the chronological compilations of that period are still the great quarries of english

history *. It was not before the age of Elizabeth, that the records of the civil wars produced their full moral effect; and the taste, induced by the wonderful poets and authors of her time, contributed

* I have never been able to bring myself to entertain any feeling approximating to respect for the works of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, and the other tribe of rhymers that preceded the reign of Henry VIII. They seem to me to have acquired their fame before the nation knew any thing of poetry, and to have remained famous when their works are no longer read. There is a little sprinkling, here and there, of naiveté in Chaucer, but his lists and catalogues of circumstances are any thing but poetry. Lydgate is bare naked prose. The honest man speaketh, indeed very truly, of himself:

"I not acquainted with muses of Maro,
Nor with metres of Lucan or Virgil,
Nor sugared ditties of Tullius Cicero,
Nor of Homerus to follow the fresh style,
Crooked to climb over so high a style,
Or for to follow the steps aureate
Of Francis Petrak, the poet lauriate."

Lydgate's St. Albans.

In the course of my researches among the deservedly-neglected works of the antient authors, preserved as curiosities in the British Museum, I fell in with one piece which drew my attention more particularly; not, however, on account of any beauty that it possesses, but as one of the earliest allegorical poems in the english language. It is called "The Castle of Labour;" and is written with the same moral purpose as the Magical Castle of Indolence by Thomson. I selected those passages that appeared to me the best. The reader will be amused to observe a remote resemblance in the opening to the commencement of Thomson's masterpiece.

to excite that extraordinary pruriency for the arts, which rendered the early part of the reign of Charles I. so illustrious. The second age of english literature followed in a similar manner the agitated

“ Ye mortal people that desire to obtain
Eternal bliss by your labour diligent,
With mortal riches subdue your pain,
To read this treatise to the right intent,
Which shall show you, plain and evident,
That Idleness, mother of all adversity,
Her subjects bringeth to extreme poverty.”

The poet feigns himself to be newly married; and while in bed along with his wife, ruminating on his future prospects, hath divers visions. Heaviness, alias Dullness, is tolerably well described.

“ Him to behold I was dismayed,
How he of things past did clatter.
‘ Many take to me,’ he said ;
He had well learned for to patter !
Of things to come fast did he chatter.”

DESPAIR.

“ Came to me, Despair, in cruel ordinance,
One of the worst of all the sort,
She was chief captain of their dance,
And daughter unto Discomfort.

This Dispair did me so assail
That lost was my discretion,
My face began for to wax pale
By fear of her cruel vexation.

period of the Revolution; but the characteristics of the works of genius produced in the reign of queen Anne showed, that the public mind was embued by another class of writers than the historians of

So cruel was her perturbation,
Which on me she did extend,
That I thought, in conclusion,
Of myself to make an end.

I was ready to run here and there,
To climb up high, and then to fall,
By my life I set not one hair,
By means of this fury infernal."

REASON.

"As I was in this perturbation,
I saw a lady pleasant and bright,
For to behold her meek fashion
Soothly it was a pleasant sight.
Her caperon with pearl was pight,
With precious stones about illumining;
Her beautiful face shone as bright
As Phœbus doth in a May morning."

Reason tells him, after some wholesome counselling, and when he shall have subdued Pride,

"After that Pride is from thee chased
By the might of Humility,
With another thou shalt be menaced
More dangerous, called Envy,
Accompanied with Misery,
With Falsehood, Murder, and Treason,

the country. In the time of Charles II. many causes combined to make the nation desirous of forgetting the transactions of the commonwealth. The study of the classics of antiquity had been preferred

Such shall be in his company,
With Slander and false Detraction."

ENVY.

"Ill report hath he in his parish,
With many vices and divers,
Which unto virtue are reproach,
Hym alway tending to reverse."

CHARITY.

"Charity hath waiting on her dignity
Very true Love and Misericord,
Benevolence, with Grace and Verity;
Among them found is not Discord,
But Peace, Meekness, and Concord."

IRE.

"Cruelty beareth his hanger,
Felony is his chief champion,
Perversity is his porter,
Madness reigns in his dungeon,
Cursed Murder, that false felon,
Of his house is as chief captain:
There is a cursed Religion
To him that followeth their train."

Dr. William Bulleyn, who lived during the administration of Wolsey, gives the following allegorical critique on the antient english poets:

"Witty Chaucer, who sat in chair of gold covered with roses writing prose and rhyme, accompanied with the spirits of many kings, knights, and fair ladies, whom

to that of the historians of the preceding civil wars ; and, in consequence, the style and sentiments of the augustan age became imitated in the reign of Anne. The necessary effect of this was visible in the arts as well as in literature. The intricate and exuberant

he pleasantly besprinkled with the sweet water of the well consecrated to the muses, named Aganippe. Near also sat old moral Gower, with pleasant pen in hand, commending honest love without lust, and pleasure without pride ; holiness in the clergy without hypocrisy ; no tyranny in rulers, no falsehood in lawyers, no busary in merchants, no rebellion in the commons, and unity among kingdoms, &c. There appeared also, lamenting Lydgate, lurking among the lilies, with his bald sconce, and a garland of willows about it. Booted he was after St. Burnet's guise ; and a black stammel robe, with a monstrous hood, hanging backward ; his body stooping forward, bewailing every state with the spirit of providence ; foreseeing the falls of wicked men, and the slippery seats of princes ; the ebbing and flowing, the rising and falling of men in authority ; how virtue advances the simple, and vice overthrows the most noble of the world. Skelton sat in the corner, with a frosty-bitten face, frowning, and scarcely yet cooled of the hot burning choler kindled against the cankered cardinal Wolsey, writing many a sharp disticon with bloody pen against him, which he sent through the infernal Styx, Phlegeton, and Acheron, by the ferryman of hell, called Charon, to the said cardinal. Then Barclay, in a hooping russet long coat, with a pretty hood in his neck, and fine knots upon his girdle, after Francis's tricks. He was born beyond the cold river Tweed ; he lodged upon a sweet bed of camomile, under the cinamon tree, about him many shepherds and sheep, with pleasant pipes, greatly abhorring the life of courtiers."

Dr. Berkenhout very flatly contradicts sir George Mackenzie for placing Barclay among scottish authors ; but Bulleyn, who was cotemporary with him, very clearly, in the preceding passage, mentions the fact ; and there are internal evidences in the author's works besides, which render the point indisputable.

architecture of the antient cathedrals, corresponding to the capricious and luxuriant effusions of the aboriginal authors, was superseded by an imitation of the roman models; the style of which corresponded with the simplicity of the pruned productions of the press; and a general excess of polish almost obliterated originality.

XVI. The proficiency which nations make in the ornamental arts is always proportioned to the prosperity of their domestic circumstances. Italy, prior to the invasion by Charles VIII. of France, enjoyed a long period of felicity and repose, which the gravest historians have described with the warmth of poetical enthusiasm. The hills, cultivated to the summits, emulated the fertility of the valleys. The cities vied with antiquity in the elegance of their edifices. The countless ministers of superstitious sovereignty, bearing tribute to Rome, enhanced the flow of general wealth by the generosity of their expenditure; and Commerce poured her copious horn, filled with the riches of all nations, into the lap of Florence, of Genoa, and of Venice. Like the illustrious arrangement of antient Greece before the conquests of Alexander, the country was divided into many small states. The division exposed the whole to the hazard of subjugation from without; but the equilibrium within afforded to each a happy portion of domestic security. The inhabitants of all degrees lived in comparative fellowship: artists were the companions of nobles, for the nobles were merchants, and fostered the arts to increase the profits of trade. The general opulence bestowed the means of granting leisure to the studious to design, and to the mechanical to execute; while genius, by the activity of competition, was incited to retouch and improve its crea-

tions. — The state of England at that time was far otherwise. The civil wars were raging in all their fury. The multitudes withdrawn from labour to arms, from producing to destroy, increased the toil to the remainder, and the public wealth was dilapidated by the reciprocal havoc of the rival families. During the administration of Wolsey, a respectable degree of prosperity was recovered; but the only funds which could be allotted to promote knowledge were monopolised by the church. All the superfluity of industry, which might have procured sustenance for genius, was appropriated to support the indolence of the clergy. It was, therefore, only by diminishing the number of the monks, and by inducing the other ecclesiastics to become active, that the great intellectual qualities of the english nation could be developed. While Leo X. was enjoying the fruits of the autumn of italian genius, Wolsey was labouring where the spring had scarcely disclosed a single blossom; but a rich and various harvest has since amply justified the liberality of the preparation, and his confidence in the soil.

XVII. Warton, in speaking of the state of poetry in the reign of Henry VIII. *, observes, that the marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland must have contributed to improve the literature and arts of the scottish nation. But the observation is

* “ The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connexion, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland.”

unphilosophical, and contrary to historical fact. If diplomatic correspondence and the occasional visits of courtiers have any effect on the progress of nations, the English were more likely to have been indebted to the Scots*; for the court of Edinburgh possessed, at that time, several professors of elegant literature, that rivalled in taste and propriety of phraseology even the Italian poets, while that of London was only a dormitory to cumbrous divines. But the literature of nations is rarely improved by the alliances of princes, and seldom promoted by the munificence of courtiers. Which of the great authors of England was indebted for opulence to the patronage

* In the year 1515, one of Sir David Lindsay's comedies was acted at the court of Scotland. I have not been able to find, that during the whole public life of Wolsey any secular dramas in English were exhibited in England. The princess Mary performed in a Latin comedy, which was got up at Greenwich, for the entertainment of the French commissioners sent to ratify the treaty concluded by Wolsey for the extrication of the pope. Dr. Berkenhout mentions, in the preface to his *Biog. Brit.* that about the year 1110, one Geoffrey, a schoolmaster in Dunstable, wrote a drama called *St. Katherine*, which the doctor, considering as a play, says that it carries the authentic history of the English theatre two hundred years higher than that of any other modern nation. But I conceive that we ought to reject the ecclesiastical performances from the history of the stage; and the title of *St. Katharine* implies that it was a monkish exhibition. In the reign of Richard I. Seneca's tragedies, and some other Latin dramas, were translated into English by Henry, a monk of Hyde Abbey. Lord Berners, who died in 1532, was one of our earliest dramatic poets. I have not been able to meet with any of his works; and those of Lord Morley, who was almost his contemporary, are supposed to be lost.—I have given in the appendix extracts from translations of Seneca's tragedies made about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

of the sovereigns? With the exception of the vain and presumptuous Lewis XIV., there is not an instance on record of a monarch who regarded the fostering of knowledge as a part of his regal duty; and for many years a distinguished literary character at the levees of a British king has been almost as rare as the phoenix of the poets among the birds of Egypt; and yet the literature of the nation has certainly not declined*. It was the personal predilections of James IV. of Scotland which drew around him the poets of his country;

* Unless the king himself have an unaffected predilection for the arts and sciences, the court is not more favourable to the improvement of knowledge, than the universities of Oxford and Cambridge under their existing constitutions. A century has elapsed since either of these great seminaries has possessed, as a resident member, perhaps it may be added, produced, one man of influential genius; one who has improved the public taste, or extended the horizon of science. In men of learning, and men whose talents have been strengthened by the reflections of others, undoubtedly the universities of England have not been less prolific, even in proportion to the superior opulence of their endowments, than those of any other country; but persons versed only in books are not entitled to be classed with those men, who, by the activity of their genius, and the novelty of their notions, affect the mass of the public mind, and change its bias and motion. It can never indeed be admitted, that the granting of emolument to the professors of definite and enacted opinions will promote the essential interests of reason and literature.

There is a list of the most remarkable of the recent offspring of Oxford and Cambridge among the notes of Dr. Parr's celebrated Spital sermon. It is undoubtedly a splendid list of able characters; but which one of them all is entitled to the epithet of a man of genius, in the proper meaning of that term? which of them can be considered either as the head of his class, or the founder of a school?—a sir Isaac Newton, a Milton, a Dryden, an Addison, an Adam Smith, or a Franklin?

and the ecclesiastical bent of Henry VIII. operated in a similar manner to fill the court of England with theologians. Hence the origin of the peculiarities of english and scottish literature in the time of cardinal Wolsey.

... XVIII. The college of physicians, which was founded in the year 1518, was the first national institution which the cardinal patronised for the improvement of knowledge. Prior to that event the state of the medical science was very low in England. It was only remarkable for ingenious hypotheses, unsupported by the evidence of facts, and for a credulous faith on astrological influence*, equally visionary. The kingdom, particularly London, had been often visited by

* I am induced, at the suggestion of a friend, in addition to what I have already said upon the obsolete science of astrology, to insert here sir Christopher Heydon's account of the tides, from his "Defence of Astrology," published in 1603. — "All or most authentique writers, yea Picus himself, attribute the ebbing and flowing of the sea to the moone, as to a true and positive cause. We see by experiences that the moon placed in the heavens at such a position the seas flow, and at such a position ebbe, and otherwise not; and therefore she is the cause thereof." *Page 431.* — "Our spring tides are never but in the conjunction of the sunne and moone, when the beams of both lights are united in a right line." *Page 464.* — "The sunne and other starrs may hasten, hinder, or alter, the moon's influence, as we see in spring tides, at the change and full moone, and neap tides at quarters." *Page 443.*

With respect to the astrological opinion of the lunar influence on diseases, a work has lately been published by a medical gentleman, the result, I understand, of his own observations during a residence in India. I have not seen the work itself.

a most destructive pestilence, the Sweating sickness ; a disease which was deemed peculiar to the english climate, but which has since been happily eradicated. The infected died within three hours after the first symptoms ; and no cure could be found. The administration of justice was suspended during its continuance, and the court removed from place to place with precipitation and fear. Half the people in some parts of the country were swept away, and the principal trade practised was in coffins and shrouds ; but even that, in the progress of the plague, was generally abandoned. At London, vast sepulchral pits were prepared every morning, into which the victims were thrown promiscuously. The only sounds in the city during the day were the doleful monotony of unceasing knells, and the lamentations of the tainted, deserted by their friends, crying from the windows to the passengers to pray for them. The door of almost every house was marked with a red cross, the sign that the destroying angel had been there ; and all night, as the loaded wheels of the death-waggons rolled heavily along, a continual cry was heard of " Bring out your dead." — To discover a remedy, or some mode of averting the recurrence of this terrible calamity, the king, at the suggestion of Dr. Linacre, was induced to establish the College of Physicians : among others mentioned in the charter as the advisers of this beneficial institution, Wolsey is particularly mentioned.

XIX. The cardinal was several years minister before he came forward conspicuously as the patron of national instruction. He had been previously the Mæcenas of individuals ; but the history of his munificence to literature relates chiefly to public institutions. The

character of his mind fitted him to act happily only with wide and prospective considerations. The warmth of his temper, and the pride of conscious greatness, however high his aims, and noble his motives, rendered him harsh in familiar intercourse, and unqualified to acquire the affection of those men of endowment and knowledge whom ostentation invited to his house, and affluence entertained. The court happened to be at Abington in the year 1523, and a deputation of the heads of the colleges, being sent from Oxford to pay the compliments of the university, the queen was afterwards induced to visit that city, accompanied by Wolsey. They were received with the customary ceremonies; and the cardinal, in reply to the oration which was addressed to him, declared, that he had the interests of his parental university much at heart, and that he was desirous of substantially evincing his filial attachment. He accordingly proposed to found certain public lectures, and offered to undertake the revision of the statutes, which were at variance in tenour with one another, and adverse in spirit to the prosperity of learning. These proposals were gladly received, and letters on the subject were without delay sent to the chancellor, archbishop Warham. This jealous and captious old man was sensibly affected by every thing that tended to the aggrandisement of Wolsey; and therefore, although he could not possibly object to the instituting of the lectures, he strenuously opposed the plan of committing to him the revision of the statutes. In the end, however, he was constrained to yield his personal antipathy for the public advantage; and the senate, in full convocation, decreed, that the laws should be placed in the cardinal's hands to be corrected, reformed, changed, or expunged, as he in his

discretion should think fit*. Cambridge soon after adopted the same measure, and even exceeded Oxford in adulation. The address voted on the occasion declared, that the statutes were submitted to be modelled according to his judgment, as by a true and settled standard; for he was considered as a man sent by a special order of divine providence for the benefit of mankind. In order to evince still more the unlimited extent of this confidence, the senate conferred on him the power for life of legislating for the university; and proposed to honour his memory with perpetual yearly commemorations†. These acts of homage, in themselves remarkable proofs of the ready subserviency of public bodies to the existing powers, are worthy of observation, as they form an important æra in the history of english literature. From the date of the revisal of the statutes by cardinal Wolsey, the progress of popular learning, and the improvement of the language, were rapid and extraordinary in the universities; in which, prior to that epoch, there was scarcely a member distinguished by any proficiency in practical knowledge. They were inhabited only by men who had dozed into corpulency over the ponderous folios of scholastic divinity; and it was probably less on account of any advantage that was expected to arise to the public from improving her statutes that Cambridge addressed the cardinal with such idolatrous adulation, and invested him with such supreme power, than the hope of inducing him to prefer her for the seat of a college, which it was then rumoured he intended to build on a plan of the greatest magnificence. It is, however, but justice to add, that

* Fiddes, 179 and 180.

† Fiddes, 187.

Cambridge very early became a candidate for his patronage ; for when he was only bishop of Lincoln, she offered him her chancellorship, which he declined.

XX. When he had instituted at Oxford the lectures of which he had given notice during his visit with the queen, he proceeded with the design of Christ-church college. The foundations were laid* soon after the news arrived in London of the battle of Pavia. This noble edifice stands on the site of a priory, the brotherhood of which had for a long time given such scandal by their profligacy, that the design of dispersing them, and of converting their revenues and buildings to the uses of learning, had been entertained several years before. The preamble of the patent, by which the king assigned to the cardinal the property of the monasteries dissolved by virtue of his legatine commission, and destined for the support of his lectures and college, highly commends his administration of the national affairs ; and declares, that, in consideration of his having so ably sustained the weight of the government for several years, the grant was made as a testimony to posterity of the sense entertained of his services. By a draft of the statutes written by Wolsey himself it appears, that the permanent members of the college† were intended to consist of a dean, a subdean, sixty canons of the first rank, and forty of the second, thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, and sixteen choristers, with professors of Rhetoric,

* March 20th, 1525.

† “ The cardinal’s college was one of the first seminaries of an english university that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature.”—*Warton’s Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 3.

Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics, Greek *, Theology, and Law, besides four censors of manners and examiners of the proficiency of the students, three treasurers, four stewards, and twenty inferior servants. A revenue was set apart for the entertainment of strangers, the relief of the poor, and the maintenance of horses for college business. The architectural design of the building was of corresponding magnitude; and had it been completed according to the plan of the founder, few royal palaces would have surpassed it in splendour and extent. The project by which he proposed to furnish the library was worthy of the general design. He took measures to obtain copies of all the manuscripts in the Vatican †, in addition to the ordinary means of procuring books ‡.

* At this period, a great contest arose in the university of Oxford respecting the modern pronounciation of the greek language. The opponents of the new style called themselves Trojans: they had a Priam, a Hector, a Paris, &c. But what was at first merely jocular, became the cause of serious quarrel. The students felt the rivalry of the antients, whose names they had assumed, and the Isis was disturbed with taunts that might have frightened the Scamander. The pulpit became as it were a tower of Ilium; for a pious priest took an opportunity of declaiming, with the rapture of Cassandra, against all greek and latin literature. At length the cardinal, like Jupiter, interposed, and the Greeks, as of old, were victorious.

† Fiddes, 306.

‡ Among the various charges that have been made against the cardinal, the burning of the first translation of the Testament is considered not the least heinous. But it ought to have been remembered, that the translation was not destroyed merely because it served to make the vulgar acquainted with the truths of Christianity, but because it was full of errors. The resolution to withhold the Scriptures from the people was an after-thought of the priesthood. In the time of Wolsey,

XXI. Soon after his return from the great embassy to France, he laid the foundations of a public school at Ipswich, his native town. It was intended to be a preparatory seminary for the college, similar

so far from the idea being entertained, it was well known that several translations did exist of the Scriptures in this kingdom. — The following is a chronological account of them :

A. D. 679. In an extraordinary consistory held at Rome about British affairs, it was, among other things, ordained, that lessons out of the divine oracles should be always read for the edification of the churches.

734. Bede died in this year, and in his time the anglo-saxonic translation of the Old and New Testaments existed.

1228. The first synodical prohibition or restraint of the liberty or birth-right of Christians in the use of the Holy Scriptures in their own language was made this year in a synod held at Tholouse, on occasion of the doctrine and preaching of the Waldenses, “ that the Holy Scripture is the rule of christian faith; and that the reading and knowledge of it is free and necessary to all men.”

1349. Richard Rollo, a hermit of Hampole, in Yorkshire, died. He translated and wrote a gloss in english of the Psalter; at the end of which he gave this account of his performance. I quote his own words, altering only the spelling. The changes in the english language since that time chiefly affect the orthography. “ In this work I seek no strange english, but lightest and commonest, and swilk that is most like unto the latin; so that they that know not the latin, by the english may come to many latin words. In the translation, I follow the letter as meikle as I may, and thor I find no proper english, I follow the wit of the words, so that they that shall read it, them dare not dread erring. In the expounding, I follow holy doctors. For it may come into some envious man’s hand that knows not what he should say, that will say, that I wist not what I said, and so do harm till him and till other.” The first psalm in this translation begins :

to the school at Winchester founded by William of Wickham, and to that at Eton by Henry VI.; both of which were instituted with the same relative view to their respective colleges in Oxford and

“ Blessed is that man, the which ga’ heed not in the council of wicked,
And the way of sinful stood not, and in the chair of pestilence sat not.”

The second psalm also thus,

“ Why gnash’d the folk, and the people thought idle thoughts ?”

In the MS library of Bene’t college, Cambridge, is a gloss on some of the books of the New Testament in the english about the period of the conquest. As a specimen of the translation the following may be subjoined :

Mark i. 7. “ And he preached, saying, a stolworther than I shall come after me, of whom I am not worthy downfallen or kneeling to loose the thongs of his chaucers.”

Mark vi. 22. “ When the daughter of that Herodias was in come, and had tumbled and pleside to Herod, and also to the sitting at meat, the king says to the wench ——.”

Mark xii. 1. “ A man made a vinerie, and he made about a hedge, and grofe a lake, and bigged a tower.”

1381. Some time before this year Wicklif published his translation of the Bible.

1394. About this time the queen of England had the gospels in the english tongue.

1462. The Bible first printed.

1526. Tyndal’s translation of the Testament printed.

1527. Tyndal’s translation of the Testament suppressed and burnt on account, as it was alleged, of numerous heretical errors and false translations. Burnt at the instigation of the bishop of London, with the cardinal’s authority.

1530. Tyndal’s translation of the five books of Moses printed.

1531. Tyndal’s translation of Jonas’s prophecy printed.

Cambridge. The funds appropriated for the support of this institution were chiefly drawn from the revenues of dissolved monasteries. The town had, before that time, a free grammar school endowed with certain property vested in the hands of the magistrates, who at the cardinal's request judiciously assigned it to the new school, the more extensive purposes of which superseded the utility of continuing the other. He ordered a grammar to be prepared for the use of the students, and wrote a prefatory address, in which he speaks of the institution as designed to promote the education of British youth,—an expression that seems to indicate something like an expectation of an ultimate union of the crowns of the island. This is, perhaps, the only literary production of Wolsey entitled to be considered as a publication. His acquirements as a scholar were, indeed, rather proofs of the generality and vigour of his talents, than evidence of the extent of his intellectual powers compared with those of others. The length and fulness of his public dispatches, and the variety of circumstances which he comprehends within the scope of his topics, entitle them to be regarded, in many instances, as dissertations on the events and proceedings of the time. His style, at once powerful, circumstantial, and diffuse, conveys so ample an exposition of his meaning, that he never fails to fill the mind of the reader with a complete conception of what he aims to

The avidity with which the translations of the Scriptures were bought and read, attracted the attention of government. On the 25th May, 1531, the king held a great council for the purpose of determining what should be done in order to counteract the effects of the imperfect translations; and it was resolved, that the Scriptures should be purely translated.

produce. His sentences are sometimes involved, and often indefinite; but he pours forth such an amazing breadth of explanation, that the general effect is irresistible. In this respect, the character of his eloquence may be compared to a large stream flowing through a marshy country: though the main current be clear, impetuous, and strong, the bounds and banks are shoaly, sedgy, unequal, irregular, and undefined.

XXII. Wolsey, as lord chancellor, had often as much occasion to observe the ignorance of the lawyers, as in his episcopal capacity that of the clergy; and he has been described as often interrupting the pleadings of the barristers, and bitterly animadverting on their want of knowledge. To remedy an evil which troubled the public jurisprudence at the fountain-head, and made its necessary ramifications only so many distributors of disorder and vexation, he projected an institution, to be founded in London, in which the study of Law should be efficiently cultivated. The scheme was consonant to the general liberality of his views, and perhaps is still requisite. The architectural model for the building was considered a masterpiece, and remained, long after his death, as a curiosity, in the palace at Greenwich

XXIII. In the prosecution of these munificent purposes, the cardinal was obliged to contend with the opposition, and to endure the obloquy of every rank and class of the nation. The courtiers, whom his lordliness mortified into enemies, lost no opportunity of repeating to the king every omission, however trivial, in the multitude of the affairs which he undertook to direct; and insinuated, that he excelled the other ministers only in the boldness of his preten-

sions. But on such occasions Henry always vindicated the sincerity of his own character, and repressed with becoming manliness the intrusions of envy. The censorial court which Wolsey had instituted by virtue of his commission as legate, was an intolerable and continual offence to the priesthood. Allen *, his chaplain, whom he had appointed the judge, and who was afterwards bishop of Dublin, exercised his functions with harshness, and sometimes with partiality. His conduct gave warrant to discontents which had originated in the jurisdictions of the office; and old Warham, who was greedy of accusations against the cardinal, availing himself of some particular instance of impropriety on the part of Allen, complained to the king of the legatine court. Henry observed to him, that "No man is so blind as in his own house; but for you, father, I should not have heard of this matter; I pray you, therefore, go to Wolsey, and tell him, if there be any thing amiss in these proceedings, to amend it." The malicious love of justice, which dictated this complaint, was, probably, for that time, frustrated; but an occasion soon after occurred of making a special charge against the conduct of the cardinal himself. He advanced a lady who had sullied her youth by carnal indiscretion, to be abbess of the nunnery of Winton. Henry was speedily informed of the appointment, and immediately expostulated with Wolsey, mentioning, at the same time, that the gifts, which

* John Allen. He was appointed to the bishopric of Dublin in 1528. "The five persons employed by the cardinal to take measures for the demolition of the monasteries quarrelled among themselves. One killed another, and was hanged for it; the third drowned himself in a well; the fourth was reduced to beggary; and Allen, afterwards a bishop, was cruelly maimed in Ireland."—*Stow*.

were bestowed by the monasteries, to promote the building of his colleges, were suspected of being corruptly given, in order to save themselves from the visits of the legatine officers; remarking, that this was the more probably true, as they had never shewn any such generosity to the necessities of their sovereign; and, with the frank earnestness of friendship, he entreated him to rectify such abuses. Fortunately for the cardinal, the appointment of the prioress was subject to the approbation of the king; and he submitted himself so humbly, in consequence of the severity of the rebuke, that Henry immediately and kindly reassured him of his entire confidence; at the same time, he still seemed to doubt the propriety of appropriating the funds of the monasteries to the purposes of learning; and he informed him, that it was generally murmured throughout the nation, that the colleges but furnished a cloak to cover the misdemeanours of avarice. The conduct of Henry on this occasion merits applause, both as a man and as a monarch. He showed himself jealous of his own honour and the rights of public property, but he had confidence in the integrity and high views of his minister. While he, therefore, informed Wolsey of the complaints against him, he trusted that his discretion would obviate them for the future. The event was of importance to the cardinal. It opened his eyes to the depth and extent of his danger, and showed him that he had no other dependance than the precarious favour of a prince. He saw, that the envy of his greatness, which had been fomented into malice by the success of his measures, was deadly, and he endeavoured to lessen its virulence by reducing the ostentation that served to augment it. He resigned to the king the palace of Hampton; and, in his intercourse with the other members of

the council, lowered the superiority with which he had so long dictated the measures of the government. But this alteration was calculated rather to encourage the hopes of his enemies, than to lessen the avidity with which they desired his destruction. The king, it is true, after the affair of the prioress of Winton, continued to evince the same unlimited friendship as formerly, but the irritation of that occasion unconsciously predisposed him for similar impressions *.

* Storer, from whose beautiful and very scarce poem I have already made several extracts, gives the following picturesque description of the cardinal as a patron of literature :

“ Look how the God of Wisdom marbled stands,
Bestowing laurel wreaths of dignity
In Delphos isle, at whose impartial hands
Hung antique scrolls of gentle heraldry,
And at his feet ensigns and trophies lie :
Such was my state, whom every man did follow,
A living image of the great Apollo.”

BOOK VI.

THE grandeur of Wolsey continued to increase until he became possessed of greater power than, perhaps, any subject before his time had ever enjoyed. He was virtually the head of the church in England; prime political minister; the chief judge of law and equity; legislator of the two universities; arbiter of disputes between the king and foreign princes: and his income was supposed to be equal to the amount of the royal revenues. But the full and perfect round of reflected splendour was destined to wane, and to suffer at last a total extinction. In all the vicissitudes of his master's humours, he had still preserved the first place in his esteem. The clamours of the clergy failed to disturb this unlimited confidence. The impartial justice of his conduct as a judge, though offensive to the pretensions of the nobility, afforded no plausible ground upon which his integrity could be impeached. His views of foreign policy reaching beyond the age in which he lived, and comprehending the interests of posterity, were never popular; far less the financial measures which they led him to adopt; but the success of his plans for advancing the political importance of the nation, gratified the ambition of

Henry ; and, in those days, public opinion was a trifle in comparison with royal favour. At length, however, the same lofty arrogance of principle which showed itself so proud and stubborn to the clergy, the nobility, and the people, was to be found at variance with the wishes of the sovereign himself ; and it was Wolsey's fate to furnish one of the most striking instances of the instability of fortune, and the ingratitude of despotic power, which the whole compass of history affords.

II. Katherine, Henry's queen, had been previously married to his brother Arthur, the prince of Wales. Arthur was then only in his sixteenth year, but he was a vigorous and healthful youth, and he and Katherine lived more than four months together as man and wife. Their bed on the wedding-night, according to a custom of that age, was solemnly blest ; a ceremony which certainly implied confidence in the maturity of the parties. A statement of presumptive evidence in favour of the consummation of the marriage was transmitted by the spanish ambassador to his sovereign ; and hints to the same effect had been given by the prince himself on the morning after the nuptials. In consequence of this, when Arthur died, Henry was not created prince of Wales, until it was ascertained, by time, that the princess was not with child.

III. The political motives which led to the union of Arthur and Katherine did not terminate with the life of the prince ; but, although they had ceased to be of primary influence, still the large dowry of the princess, which Henry VII. might have been obliged to refund, was of itself sufficient to induce that avaricious tyrant to

devise the plan of marrying her to her husband's brother, then in his boyhood. Against this incestuous expedient archbishop Warham strongly remonstrated; but a bull was, notwithstanding, obtained from Julius II. to authorize and sanctify its accomplishment*. In this bull it was plainly stated that the princess had been lawfully married to prince Arthur, and the marriage probably consummated; but that the prince having died without issue, therefore, in order to preserve amity between the crowns of Spain and England, and peace among catholic kings, the pope dispensed with the impediments of affinity between Henry and his brother's widow, and gave them leave to marry, or even, if already united, confirmed their marriage. Many of the cardinals disapproved of this extraordinary concession; but, as it was thought to promote the interests of the papacy, their opposition was low, ineffectual, and soon hushed. It was imagined that the future kings of England, descendants of this marriage, would be induced to maintain that authority from which their right to the crown was derived. But the design, in the sequel, proved fatal to the fraudulent system which it was expected so essentially to support.

IV. Soon after the union of Henry and Katherine, the old king began to doubt the rectitude of what he had done, and his conscience grew so irksome and unquiet, that when the prince attained the age of fourteen, at which period the law allows the heirs of the english throne to exercise the rights of judgment, he commanded him to

* 6th December, 1503. Burnet's Col. Book II. No. I.

protest that, being under age, he had been married to the princess Katherine, but now he did not confirm that marriage: on the contrary, that he intended to make it void. This protestation was made in presence of many of the nobility and clergy. Not satisfied with merely obtaining the avowal of an intention, the king, as he lay on his death-bed, earnestly exhorted the prince to break off the incestuous connection. An exhortation, in itself so solemn and penitential, though it might be neglected in the thoughtlessness of youth, was calculated to return upon the imagination with increased effect, when recalled by occurrences that might be construed into manifestations of the Divine displeasure.

V. One of the first questions which, after the death of Henry VII. came before the council, was, whether the marriage should be annulled or consummated. The arguments for the consummation prevailed; and moral delicacy was sacrificed to political expediency. The king was again married to his brother's widow, and their public coronation followed*. From that time, the legality of the connexion remained undisputed, and several children, of whom the princess Mary alone survived, were the issue.

VI. Katherine having fallen into ill health, Henry had for several years deserted her bed. Seeing no likelihood of her giving a male heir to the crown, he became restless in mind, and imagined that the curse pronounced in Scripture against the man who takes his brother's wife, had come upon them, and that he was fated to die childless.

* Burnet, 35.

The marriage having been hitherto undisputed, he was not led to think of dissolving it, till the year 1527, when, in the progress of the treaty of affinity negotiated with Francis, the french minister objected to the legitimacy of the princess, on the ground that the marriage of which she was the fruit had been contracted in violation of a divine precept, which no human authority could impair*. Some time before, the council of Spain had made similar observations, and, on the doubtfulness of the matter, endeavoured to justify the dissolution of the contract of Charles and Mary.

VII. From all these circumstances, it is evident that Henry's scruples arose from events which happened before Wolsey's introduction at court, and were strengthened by occurrences over which he had no controul. The king first disclosed them to his confessor, and, probably, soon after to the cardinal; but there is no evidence to ascribe their origin to the art of the one, or the machinations of the other. Nor with greater justice can it be alleged that the scruples were forged to disguise a criminal passion for Ann Bullen, although it will appear, in the course of the subsequent transactions, that the influence of her charms in no small degree added to their weight. The controversies relative to the royal marriage lasted several years; and many circumstances in Henry's conduct, during that time, served to shew that he was affected by other motives as well as by his partiality for that lady. In the early stages of the business, he seems to have been actuated by a real anxiety for his religious welfare. Before bringing it into public discussion he had satisfied his own mind, that the marriage was contrary to the levitical laws.

* Burnet, 36.

The next question which presented itself was, whether the pope possessed the power of dispensing with a precept of divine institution? and it might readily occur to him, that the observance of any law can only be set aside by an authority equal to that by which it was at first enacted. The prerogative of the sovereign pontiff to alter the laws of the church was admitted; but the levitical laws, being promulgated immediately from Heaven, could not be set aside or suspended by any human decision.

VIII. Henry, in this stage of his reflections, communicated to Wolsey his determination to try the question publicly, and requested to know what he thought of it? The cardinal was struck with alarm; and instantly foreboding the dangerous consequences of such a resolution, fell on his knees, and entreated the king to abandon a design so hostile to the faith of which he was the declared champion and defender; especially while the whole structure of the church was rent with schisms, and shaken from roof to foundation by the tempest of the lutheran controversies. Nor could he omit to point out the political evils of incurring the enmity of the queen's relations, and the certainty that her nephew the emperor would violently endeavour to revenge the insult which the proceeding would be to his family. But Henry was not to be persuaded from his resolution: he insisted upon knowing Wolsey's opinion of the abstract question. The cardinal, in order to gain time, and possibly with a hope that some accident might occur to alter the king's mind, begged that, in a matter of such importance, he might be allowed to confer, previously, with persons better versed in the divine and civil laws. A request so reasonable was readily granted; and, accordingly, by virtue of his

legatine commission, he summoned the bishops, and the learned of the universities and cathedrals, to meet him for that purpose, at Westminster.

IX. If the cardinal was of opinion at first, that the validity of the marriage ought not to be called in question, the case was materially altered when the king's doubts had become publicly known, and were communicated to his subjects. It then became his duty to bring the matter to a speedy issue, and to hasten proceedings which involved the legitimacy of the royal offspring, and which, in the event of the king's premature death, might again entail on the nation the miseries of a disputed succession. As a prince of the church, he was bound to maintain the papal authority, by an undeviating adherence to every canon and formality in the course of a process of such importance. He is, therefore, in the progress of the divorce, to be regarded as acting in a double capacity, as the minister of the king and of the pope. To both he was bound to act with fidelity. The service of the one was contrary to the interests of the other. His situation was extraordinary, and his difficulties without a precedent. He was placed in a situation where his honesty had the effect of making him equally offensive to both parties; and integrity, almost necessarily, exposed him to the suspicion of partiality and equivocation. Neither ought the private peculiarities of his condition at this time to be forgotten. He had reached the most enviable place of dignity, where he had not one real friend connected with his fate. His unmitigated perseverance in the reformation of the clerical abuses had filled the great body of the priesthood with implacable resentment; his steady maintenance of the papal pretensions exposed him

to the hatred of the lutheran reformers; his severe administration of justice exasperated the pride of the nobility; his expensive foreign policy made him no less obnoxious to the people; and his successful career provoked that antipathy which contemporaries ever feel against the successful, especially when success is obtruded by ostentation. The queen had long been aware of his great influence over her husband; and, as he appeared active and anxious in the investigation of the validity of the marriage, it was not surprising that she should ascribe the origin of the question in a great measure to him. Even Ann Bullen, of whom Henry had in the meantime become enamoured, was secretly his enemy, and longed for an opportunity of gratifying her spite.

X. When the king's sister was married to Lewis XII. Ann Bullen, then only seven years old, went in her train to Paris; and, after the death of Lewis, when her mistress returned to England, she remained behind as one of the attendants at the french court; where her beauty and sprightliness had made her a general favourite. After the death of Claud*, the queen of Francis, she was attached to the household

* Hall gives a dark and mysterious hint about the death of this lady. In the year 1525, the earl of Angus came from France to England; and, being at Windsor, he declared, that in the council of France, while he was there, they happened to talk of the wars then raging between Charles and Francis; upon which one lord stood up and said, it were better that one person suffered, rather than all the realm should be daily in this mischief. It was asked, what he meant. He answered, that if the queen, who was lame and ugly, were dead, ways might be found for the king to marry the emperor's sister, and to have with her the duchy of Milan; and then with her money the king of England could be paid.—But whether this was true or false, certain it is that the french queen died very soon after.

of his sister, the duchess of Alençon, with whom she remained until about the period when the scruples of Henry became publicly known, at which time she came back to England; and was, soon after her arrival, appointed one of the maids of honour to the queen. Among the young noblemen then retained by the cardinal was lord Percy, eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, between whom and Anne Bullen an attachment arose, and it became known that they were actually betrothed. Henry, having begun to entertain a passion for the lady, requested Wolsey, when informed of the circumstance, to remonstrate with the young lord on the impropriety of the connection. The cardinal accordingly severely reproved Percy, for matching himself with one so far below his condition*. But the lover defended his choice, maintaining, that in point of lineage and relationship she was not his inferior. Her mother was a daughter of the duke of Norfolk; her paternal grandmother was scarcely less eminent, being one of the daughters of the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; and her grandfather, though himself only a lord mayor of London, had married a daughter of lord Hastings. The cardinal, seeing Percy so fixed in his attachment, sent for the earl of Northumberland; by whose decisive interference the alliance was dissolved. Percy was enjoined to avoid the lady's company, and she was discharged from court. Nor was she recalled until after his marriage with a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. She was then not long in discovering that the king viewed her with eyes of admiration; but she never forgave the cardinal for depriving her of Percy. She considered the banquets of which she partook, with the court, at his

* Cavendish.

palace, only as offerings to propitiate her rising influence, and the idea increased her resentment. But it was still necessary that she should dissemble; and, to ingratiate herself the more with the king, she treated the cardinal with the utmost external respect. Her vanity grew giddy with the expectation of the crown, long before it was likely that she could receive it; and, enriched by the profusion of her royal lover, she assumed an immodest ostentation of finery*.

XI. The queen, dejected by infirm health, beheld with humility the indecorous advancement of her gentlewoman; and, with ineffectual meekness, endeavoured to win back the affections of her husband. She even seemed to be pleased with her rival, bewailing only in secret that unhappy destiny which, in a foreign country, had reduced herself so low. The generosity of the people was awakened in her favour, and they quickly found out sufficient reasons to account for the conduct both of Henry and his minister. They observed that the emperor was no longer treated as a friend; and, without troubling themselves to appreciate the events which, from the battle of Pavia, had changed the political interests of England, they accused Wolsey of being actuated against Katherine by revenge for slights and disappointments received from her nephew. The notoriety of the king's affection for Ann Bullen was no less a satisfactory explanation of his motives; although he had before violated his conjugal fidelity, and afterwards returned to the queen, whose virtues and chaste demeanour he had never ceased to esteem†. That Ann Bullen was frequently seen at those entertainments where the cardinal delighted to exhibit his

* Cavendish.

† He had a son by a daughter of sir John Blount.

magnificence, is rather a proof of the lax morality common to the circles of courtiers, than evidence of any deliberate design on his part either to aid her promotion, or to mortify the queen. Towards her, indeed, he appears never to have entertained any particular partiality; and it has been alleged, that one of the causes which hastened his ruin was her apprehension that, in the event of the marriage being annulled, he would exert his influence to provide a more honourable match for the king *. She vindictively remembered the frustration of her first love, and dreaded the disappointment of her ambition.

XII. While the cardinal was in France on his great embassy, the first messenger on the subject of the marriage was sent to Rome. It is not very clearly ascertained whether the message related to the king's scruples, or only to procure such a legitimation by the pope of the princess's birth, as should obviate the doubts which had been suggested. The earliest regular dispatch written on the subject of the divorce is dated † five months posterior. By it the king's agents at Rome appear to have been previously informed of the state of their master's mind; for in reporting the opinion of the learned as to the illegality of dispensations granted contrary to the divine laws, the cardinal urges the expediency of allowing a divorce to pass, not only to avert the future miseries of a disputed succession, but to oppose the inquietude of the king's conscience. Nor were bribes omitted, to procure the compliance of his holiness; who granted, in consequence, a commission to investigate the case, and to proceed with the business in England. Before it arrived, Henry transmitted

* Lord Herbert, 244.

† 5. December, 1527.

an application for a special legate to be sent to London for the purpose*. This new request was communicated by the pope to two of the cardinals; and, in a conference held with them in presence of the english agents, he expressed himself to the following effect: "Wolsey, by the commission already issued, or by his extraordinary general legatine authority, is, I conceive, fully empowered to proceed in this affair. If the king in his own conscience be convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, and there is no doctor in the world more able to settle the point than himself, he should accelerate judgment, and then send for a legate to confirm what he has done. For it will be easier to ratify what cannot be recalled, than to terminate such a process in the court of Rome. The queen may protest against the place and the judge, by which, in the course of law, I shall be obliged to prohibit the king from marrying while the suit is pending, and must revoke the trial to Rome. But if judgment were given in England, and the king married to another wife, very good reasons might be found to justify the confirmation of a decision that had gone so far†." This equivocal mode of proceeding was not agreeable to Henry; and Wolsey informed the pope that the king was resolved that the business should be so conducted as to prevent all discontent at home, and cavilling abroad. He therefore entreated that another cardinal might be joined with him in the commission for the trial. This application was the result of a debate which had taken place in the english cabinet on the arrival of the first commission. It was apprehended, that if Wolsey were to give sentence in the king's favour;

* 12 January, 1528.

† Burnet, 48.

the pope being then on all sides surrounded by the emperor's forces, might be deterred from confirming it; and it was intimated, in the course of the discussion, that if his holiness continued to act in a manner subservient to the will of Charles, some other way must be found to relieve the mind of the king. What that way was likely to be, the cardinal was well aware, and in consequence addressed Clément with uncommon vehemence and eloquent anxiety*. He entreated his holiness as if he were prostrate at his feet; that if he thought him a christian, a good cardinal, and not unworthy of that dignity; a promoter of justice, or believed that he desired his own eternal salvation; to grant kindly and speedily the king's earnest request; "which, if I did not know," said Wolsey, "to be just and right, I would undergo any hazard of punishment rather than promote it. And I fear, if the king find you so overawed by the emperor, as not to allow what all Christendom considers authorized by divine authority, that he, and other christian princes, will not only contemn but curtail the apostolical power†." The result of this and other representations to the same purpose, with the more effectual advocacy of tangible motives, was the appointment of cardinal Campeggio to go to England, in order to try the validity of the marriage in conjunction with Wolsey. This prelate held the bishoprick of Salisbury, and was supposed to be favourable to the wishes of the english court; but in the sequel he acted with independence and perhaps integrity.

XIII. Katharine in the mean time was not idle. She informed Charles of her situation, and received the strongest assurances of his

* 16 February, 1628. Burnet's Coll. No. 8.

† Bennet, 50.

support. The people also were strenuous in her cause. Her gentle manners, innocent infirmities, and deserted condition, excited their compassion, and roused their indignation to such a degree against those whom they considered her enemies, that the king found it necessary to make a public declaration of his motives, to the peers, the clergy, the judges, and lawyers, of the realm*. “It is now almost twenty years,” said he, “since we began our reign among you; in the course of which we have, by the assistance of Providence, so behaved ourself that we hope you have no cause to complain, nor our enemies to glory. No foreign power has attempted to injure you with impunity; nor have we employed our arms without victory. Whether you regard the fruits of peace or the trophies of war, we dare boldly aver, that we have shewn ourself not unworthy of our ancestors. But when we reflect on the end of frail life, we are surprized by fear lest the miseries of future times obscure the splendour and memory of our present felicity. We see here many who, by their age, may have been witnesses of the late civil wars, which, for eighty years together, so dreadfully afflicted this kingdom. No man knew whom to acknowledge for his sovereign, until the happy union of our parents removed the cause of this doubt. Consider then, whether after our death you may hope for better days than when the factions of York and Lancaster distracted the nation? We have a daughter, whom we the more affectionately love because she is our only child. But it is proper to inform you, that

* 8 November, 1528.

treating with the french king concerning a match with her and our godson, Henry duke of Orleans, one of his privy counsellors objected to the legitimacy of the princess, her mother having been married to our deceased brother; alleging, at the same time, that the marriage with our queen could not be deemed otherwise than incestuous. How much this allegation afflicted us, God, the searcher of hearts, only knows. For the question affected not only our consort and daughter, but implied the danger of eternal punishment to our souls, if, after being admonished of such horrible incest, we did not endeavour to amend. For your parts, you cannot but foresee the evils with which this matter is pregnant to you and your posterity. Desirous of being resolved on a point so important, we first conferred with our friends, and then with men the most learned in human and divine laws; but they gave no satisfaction, and only left us more perplexed. We then had recourse to the pope, and procured the venerable legate who has lately arrived from Rome to investigate the case. For the queen, whatever may be the detractions of women and tattlers, we willingly and openly profess that, because in nobleness of mind she far transcends the greatness of her birth, were we now at liberty and free to choose, among all the beauties of the world, we would not, as we take God to witness, make choice of any other. In mildness, prudence, sanctity of mind and conversation, she is not to be paralleled. But we were given to the world for other ends than the pursuit of our own pleasure. We, therefore, prefer the hazard of uncertain trial, rather than commit impiety against Heaven, and ingratitude against our country, the weal and safety of

which every man should prefer before his life and fortune*.” This oration affected the audience in different ways: some lamented the king’s anxiety, but many more the situation of the queen, and all doubted and feared the result. The boisterous generosity of the people, decidedly in her favour, was not easily controuled; and the declaration of the king was treated by them as an attempt to conceal a gross and adulterous passion.

XIV. In the beginning of the year 1529 the pope was seized with a violent disorder; from which he was not expected to recover. Wolsey, on hearing of this, immediately began to canvass for the papal chair, and the correspondence which he held for this purpose serves to illustrate the bias of his ambition, and to shew the objects to which he would have directed his attention in the event of attaining the supreme dignity. In one of his letters he charges his agents to procure access to the pope; and, though he were in the very agony of death, to propose two things to him: first, that he would command all the princes of Christendom to lay down their arms. “His holiness,” says he, “can do nothing more meritorious for the good of his soul than to close his life with so holy an act. And, secondly, that he would promote the king’s business, as a thing essential to the clearing of his conscience towards God †.” But the pope recovered, and, offended by the eagerness with which the cardinal aspired to succeed him, was little disposed to take his advice. Pressed on the one hand by the queen’s relations, who urged him to avocate the cause to Rome, and on the other by Henry, who was equally solicitous that

* Godwin’s Annals, p. 52.

† Bennet, 63.

it should be brought to an immediate decision, he adopted a procrastinating policy; and, by the address of Campeggio, the year was far advanced before the requisite arrangements for the trial were completed.

XV. The sovereign of a powerful kingdom, accustomed to absolute sway, and under no apprehensions from any foreign power, freely submitting to be cited before a tribunal erected within his own dominions, for the purpose of determining a cause in which his own honour and happiness were so deeply involved, was a spectacle equally singular and interesting, and calculated to arrest the attention of all descriptions of men. The thirty-first day of May was fixed for opening the court; and the hall of the Blackfriars convent in London, where the parliament in those days usually assembled, was prepared for the occasion. At the upper end, hung a canopy; under which, on an elevated platform, the king sat in a chair of state. The queen was seated at some distance, a little lower. In front of the king, but three steps beneath him, and so placed that the one appeared on his right hand, and the other on his left, Wolsey and Campeggio were placed; and at their feet several clerks and officers; before whom, and within the bar, were the prelates of the realm. Without the bar, on one side, stood the advocates and proctors of the king; and on the other those appointed for the queen. The sides of the hall were occupied with successive tiers of benches, which were crowded to a great height with all the most illustrious and noble persons of the nation.

XVI. Silence being proclaimed, the commission of the legates was read, and an officer, called the apparitor, cried aloud, "Henry,

king of England, come into court*." The king answered, " Here I am." The queen was then also summoned, but she made no reply. Rising from her chair, she descended to the floor, and walked round the court. Not a breathing was heard. When she came opposite to the king, she knelt down, and addressed him to the following effect. " I humbly beseech your majesty to extend to me your wonted clemency. I am a helpless woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions, and destitute of friends and counsel. I cannot plead for myself, and I know not whom to employ. Those that are retained for me, are only such as you have been pleased to appoint. They are your own subjects; and who can believe, that they shall be able to withstand your will and pleasure? Alas! sir, in what have I offended, that after twenty years spent in peaceable wedlock, and having borne to you so many children, you should think of putting me away? I was, I confess, the widow of your brother, if she can be accounted

* Burnet affirms, that the king did not appear personally, but by proxy; and that the queen withdrew, after reading a protest against the competency of her judges: " and from this it is clear," says the bishop, " that the speeches that the historians have made for them are all plain falsities." But it must be observed, that the testimony for the personal appearance of the king before the cardinals is surprisingly powerful; even though we do not go beyond Cavendish and the other ordinary historians. But, in addition to these, reference may be made to the authority of William Thomas, clerk of the council in the reign of Edward VI., and a well-informed writer, who, in a professed apology for Henry VIII., extant in MS, in the Lambeth, and some other libraries, speaking of this affair, affirms, " That the cardinal (Campegius) caused the king, as a private partye, in person to appeare before him, and the ladie Katharine both." Page 31.—*Wordsworth's Ecc. Biog. vol. i. p. 423.*

a widow whom her husband never knew; for I take Almighty God to witness, that I came to your bed an unblemished virgin. How I have behaved myself, I am willing to appeal even to those who wish me the least good. Certainly, whatever their verdict may be, you have always found me a most faithful servant, I may rather say, than wife, having never, to my knowledge, opposed even in appearance your will. I always loved, without regard to their merits, those whom you favoured. I so anxiously contributed to your happiness, that I fear I have offended God in studying your inclinations too much, and not by neglecting any duty. By my fidelity, if ever you thought it worthy of regard,—by our common issue, and by the memory of your father, which you sometimes held dear,—I implore you to defer the proceedings of this cause, until I have consulted my friends in Spain. If then, in justice, it shall be thought meet to send me from you, a part of whom I have so long been, and the apprehension is more terrible than death, I will continue my long-observed obedience, and submit.—But when I reflect on the reputation of our fathers, by whose endeavours our union was formed, I hope confidently of my cause. Your father, for his admirable wisdom, was accounted a second Solomon. Nor can Spain, throughout the whole succession of the sovereigns of all her kingdoms, produce any one to parallel mine. What kind of counsellors must we think those princes had, that all should, as it were, conspire to hurl us into incestuous sin. No question was then made of the lawfulness of our marriage; and yet those times afforded learned men, who, in holiness and love of truth, far surpassed the flatterers of these in which we now live.”—She then rose, and, making obeisance to the king, hastened out of the court. She had

not, however, proceeded far, when the king commanded the apparitor to call her back. Without attending to the summons, she still went forward. A gentleman, on whose arm she leaned, observed, that she was called. "I hear it very well," she replied, "but on, on, go you on. Let them proceed against me as they please; I am resolved not to stay." Nor could she be afterwards persuaded to appear a second time.

XVII. "In the queen's absence," said Henry, addressing himself to the audience, "I will freely declare to you all, that she has been uniformly as true, as obedient, and as dutiful a wife, as I could wish or desire. She has all the virtues that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of inferior condition. Her birth is, indeed, not more noble than her qualities." Wolsey, conceiving that some of Katharine's insinuations were directed towards him, entreated the king to declare, whether he had either been the first or the chief mover in the business, as suspicions to that effect were entertained: "My lord cardinal," answered Henry, "I can well excuse you: so far from being a mover, you have been rather against me. The first cause was the disturbance produced in my mind by the doubts which the french minister entertained of the legitimacy of my daughter. His doubts engendered such scruples in my bosom, that I became greatly perplexed. I began to think myself in danger of God's indignation, which appeared already manifest; for all the sons that my wife brought to me were cut off immediately after they came into the world. Being thus tossed on the waves of doubtful thought, and despairing of having any other issue by the queen, it became my duty to consider the state of the kingdom, and the cala-

mities of a disputed succession. I, therefore, conceived it to be good for the ease of my conscience, and also for the security of the nation, to ascertain, in the event of my marriage proving unlawful, whether I might take another wife. And it is this point which we are about to try by the learning and wisdom of you the prelates and pastors of the kingdom. To you I have committed the judgment, and to your decision I am willing to submit. My lord of Lincoln," said he, addressing the bishop of that see, "it was first to you in confession that I communicated my scruples; and as you were yourself in doubt, you advised me to consult all these my lords; upon which I moved you, my lord of Canterbury, as metropolitan, to put the question to the bishops; and all your opinions granted under your respective seals are here to be exhibited." The king having delivered this address, the court adjourned.

XVIII. Katharine persisted in her resolution of never again entering the court. To the monitory letters, citing her to attend, and threatening her with the consequences of contumacy, she replied by appealing to the pope, excepting to the place of trial, to the judges, and to her counsel, and desiring that the cause might be heard at Rome. She was declared contumacious, and the legates proceeded in the process. Notwithstanding her solemn assertions respecting the non-consummation of her first marriage, probability and the testimonies of the witnesses, were against her; and the evidence was as distinct as the case admitted, or could have been expected, after the lapse of such a period of time*. Meanwhile she wrote to her nephew

* Burnet, 71, 72.

the emperor, and to his brother the king of Hungary, earnestly entreating them to procure an avocation of the cause to Rome, and declaring that she would suffer any thing, even death itself, rather than submit to a divorce. In consequence of these representations, Charles and Ferdinand sent orders to their ambassadors, to allow the pope no rest until he consented to the avocation. The emperor threatened, that he would regard a sentence against his aunt as a dishonour done to his family, and would lose his throne rather than endure it. At the same time, cardinal Campeggio secretly informed his holiness of the proceedings in England; and likewise urged the avocation. The reasons alleged by the queen for appealing, were in themselves so just, that the pope was left without any plausible pretext for delaying to comply with the emperor's request. But for some time he was awed by the resolute character of Henry, and the vehement representations of Wolsey. The cardinal warned him, that if the cause was avocated at the suit of Katharine's relations, the king and kingdom of England were lost to the apostolical see; and he besought him to leave it still in the hands of the legates, who would execute their commission justly. "For myself," said he, "rather than be swayed by fear or affection against the dictates of my conscience, I will suffer to be torn in pieces joint by joint *." Clement, however, informed the english agents that the lawyers of Rome were unanimously of opinion, that he could not, in common justice, refuse the avocation; and added, with many sighs and tears, that the destruction of Christendom was inevitable. "No man," he exclaimed, "perceives the consequences

* Burnet's Coll. No. 29, p. 75.

of this measure more clearly than I do ; but I am between the hammer and the forge, and on my head the whole weight must fall. I would do more for the king than I have promised, but it is impossible to deny the emperor justice. I am surrounded by his forces, and myself and all that I have are at his disposal *." The agents, after this, urged him no further, but only studied to impede the issuing of the bull for the avocation, while they wrote to England, recommending the process to be hurried to a conclusion. Campeggio, on his part, was no less dexterous in contriving expedients to prolong the trial.

XIX. The frequent adjournments of the court on frivolous pretences excited suspicions in the breast of Henry ; and he began to think, that the dispatches † of Wolsey evinced a greater degree of anxiety for the interests of the church than for those of his sovereign. This idea led him to treat the cardinal with less cordiality ; a change which the keen-sighted enmity of the courtiers did not fail to observe, and to promote by every art. Wolsey was not blind to the slippery verge on which he stood, nor unaffected by those altered looks which were regarded as the omens of his fall. One day returning in his barge from the trial at Blackfriars to his residence in Westminster, the bishop of Carlisle, who accompanied him, happened to complain of the excessive heat of the weather. " If you were so chafed, my lord, as I have been to-day, you would be warm indeed," said the cardinal, alluding to a conversation which he had immediately before held with Henry. As soon as he entered his

* Burnet, 73.

† Burnet's Coll. 29.

house, he undressed, and went to bed. He had not, however, lain long down, when lord Rochford, the father of Ann Bullen, came to him, from the king, with a command, that he and Campeggio should immediately repair to Katharine, and exhort her to retire into some religious house rather than undergo the disgrace of a public divorce. "You and other lords of the council," exclaimed Wolsey, "have put fancies into the king's head, which trouble all the nation, and for which, in the end, you will receive but little recompense." Rochford, as if conscious of deserving the sternness of the reproaches which the cardinal continued to vent against him as he dressed himself, knelt down at the bedside, and, weeping, made no reply*.

XX. The two legates went to the queen, whom they found sitting among her maids at needlework, with a skein of thread hanging about her neck. She rose at their entrance, and requested to know their pleasure. Wolsey addressed her in latin. "Speak to me in english," said she, "that my attendants may know what you say." "If it please you, madam," he resumed, "we come to know from yourself, how you are really disposed in the business between you and the king, and to offer our opinion and advice." "As for your good will," answered Katharine, "I thank you, and I am willing to hear your advice. But the business upon which you come is of such importance, that it requires much deliberation, and the help of a mind superior to feminine weakness. You see my employment. It is thus that my time is spent among my women, who are not the wisest counsellors, and yet I have no other in England, for Spain,

* Cavendish.

where my friends are, God knows, is far off. Still I am content to hear what you have to say, and will give you an answer when I can conveniently." She then conducted them into an inner apartment, where having attentively heard their message, she addressed herself to Wolsey with great warmth. She accused him as the author of her misfortunes, because she could not endure his excessive arrogance and voluptuous life, and chiefly because she was related to the emperor, who had refused to feed his insatiable ambition with the papal dignity*. Nor would she permit him to reply, but dismissed him with marked displeasure, while she courteously parted from Campeggio.

XXI. The trial, as far as respected the examination of evidence, being completed, the court was crowded with spectators, and a general

* My Appendix is sufficiently large with papers not before published, otherwise I intended to have given all the cardinal's dispatches relative to the elections of the popes in his time. It is very doubtful if Charles, at any of the elections which happened during the administration of Wolsey, was able to have procured him the popedom; and I have not found any evidence of the cardinal ascribing his disappointments to remissness on the part of the emperor. The sequel of the queen's affairs shews clearly, that she did Wolsey wrong in considering him as actuated by malice or resentment against her: so far, indeed, was this from being the case, that it may be said, he sacrificed himself rather than consent to decide unjustly against her. The dispatches relative to the election after the death of Adrian commence at page 80 of Dr. Fiddes's Collections.

Charles, on the death of Adrian, as well as at the death of Leo, wrote to Rome in favour of Wolsey. I do not see any reason to disbelieve his imperial majesty, especially as we have it certified by himself in a letter to the cardinal, dated at Pampeluna, 16th Dec. 1523.—*Cottonian Library, Vespasian, c. ii. No. 52.*

expectation prevailed, that sentence would at last be given*. The king himself, impatient for the decision, was seated in a gallery contiguous to the hall. But, to the surprise of the whole audience, Campeggio adjourned the court, on the pretence, that as it sat as part of the roman Consistory, the legates were bound to follow the rules of that court, which was then in vacation†. And he added, “ I will not give judgment without the counsel and commandment of the pope, to whom the whole proceedings must be first communicated. The affair itself is too high for us to deliver a hasty decision, considering the dignity of the persons to whom it relates, the doubtful occasion of it; the nature of our commission; and the authority by which we act. It is, therefore, fitting, that we should consult our proper head and lord. I am not to please, for favour, fear, or reward, any man alive, be he king or subject: and the queen will make no answer, but has appealed to the pope. I am an old man, feeble and sickly, looking every day for death: what will it avail me to put my soul in danger for the favour of any prince in this world? I am here only to see justice administered according to my conscience. The defendant believes we cannot be impartial judges, because we are the king’s subjects ‡; therefore, to avoid all ambiguities and misrepresentations, I adjourn the court, according to the practice of the Consistory of Rome, from which our jurisdiction is derived; and that we may not exceed the limits of our commission §.” The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were present, and remonstrated with Campeggio for delaying

* July 23, 1529.

† Burnet, 74.

‡ He held the bishopric of Salisbury.

§ Fiddes, 478.

the sentence ; but he replied, that no decision pronounced during the vacation could be legal. Suffolk broke out into a violent passion, and, vehemently striking his hand upon the table, swore by the mass, that he saw it was true what was commonly said, that “ never cardinal did good in England *.” Wolsey, conceiving the insinuation to be directed against him, said, in a sedate emphatic manner : “ Sir, of all men in this realm you have the least cause to disparage cardinals ; for if poor I had not been, you would not now have had a head on your shoulders to talk so contemptuously of us, who neither meant you harm, nor have given you cause to be offended. I would have you to know, my lord, that I and my brother wish the king as much happiness, and the nation as much honour, wealth, and peace, as you or any other subject whatsoever, and would as gladly gratify all his lawful desires. But, my lord, what would you do, if you were one of the king’s commissioners in a foreign country, intrusted with the investigation of a solemn and dubious affair ; would you not consult with his majesty before you finished the business ? I doubt not but you would. Therefore, repress your malice. Consider we are commissioners, and for a time cannot proceed to judgment, without the knowledge of him from whom our authority is derived. Nor can we do more or less than our commission allows ; and he that will be offended with us on this account is not a wise man. Pacify yourself, my lord, and speak with discretion like a man of honour, or hold your tongue. Speak not reproachfully of your friends. The friendship that I have shewn you, and which before I never men-

* Burnet, 75 Cavendish.

tioned, you well know *." The king, in the mean time, comported himself with more moderation than could have been expected from his impetuous temper. He manifested no particular displeasure, but still the ruin of Wolsey was considered inevitable. Campeggio soon after took his leave, and, richly rewarded, departed for Rome; and it was currently reported, that Wolsey also intended to quit the kingdom: so fully convinced was the public mind that he no longer possessed the king's favour. At this crisis, Ann Bullen, whom a sense of shame had induced to withdraw from court during the trial, was recalled. Regarding Wolsey with fear and aversion, as the determined foe of all her projects of love and ambition, she industriously fostered the suspicions which had grown up in the mind of Henry; and it began to be rumoured, that the cardinal had incurred the penalties of the statute of *premuniré*. Although aware of what was to ensue, and evidently corroded by anxiety and suspense, a kind of haughty magnanimity would not allow him to abate, in any respect, his accustomed ostentation and pretensions. He opened the michaelmas term at Westminster-hall, with all his usual pomp and ceremony†, and performed the duties, as if uncon-

* Fiddes, 479.

† A contemporary poet gives the following description of the style of his procession:

" Before him rideth two priests strong,
And they bear two crosses right long,
 Gaping in every man's face.
After him follow two laymen secular,
And each of them holding a pillar
 In their hands, instead of a mace.

scious that it was for the last time. In the course of the evening, it is supposed that he received private information of his disgrace having been decided, for next day he remained at home; but no

Then followeth my lord on his mule,
Trapped with gold under her cule

In every point most curiously.
On each side a pole-axe is borne,
Which in none other use are worn,
Pretending some high mystery.

* * * * *

Then hath he servants five or six score,
Some behind and some before;

A marvellous great company;
Of which are lords and gentlemen,
With many grooms and yeomen,
And also knaves among.

Thus daily he proceedeth forth,
And men must take it at worth,
Whether he do right or wrong."

The following description of the cardinal's person may be added:

A great carl he is and fat;
Wearing on his head a red hat,
Procured with angel's subsidy;
And, as they say, in time of rain,
Four of his gentlemen are fain
To hold o'er it a canopy.
Besides this, to tell thee more news,
He hath a pair of costly shoes,
Which seldom touch the ground;

messenger came from the king. On the following morning, however, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk arrived, and required the great seal to be delivered to them, informing him, that it was the king's pleasure that he should retire to Ashur, an ecclesiastical seat which belonged to him as bishop of Winchester. With this requisition he refused to comply, saying, that the seal had been given to him personally by the king to enjoy it, with the ministration of the chancellorship, for life, and, as he had letters-patent to that effect, it was necessary that they should produce their commission before he could lawfully deliver it into their hands. A warm debate arose ; but the cardinal was firm, and the two noblemen went away without having accomplished their purpose. Next day * they returned with credentials that could not be disputed ; and, his power being ended, he prepared for the resignation of his wealth. Inventories † were made of his furniture ; and incredible quantities of massy plate, velvets, damasks, and the richest tissues, laid out on the tables of his

They are so goodly and curious,
All of gold and stones precious,
Costing many a thousand pound.
And who did for these shoes pay ?
Truly many a rich abbey,
To be eased of his visitation."

* October 19, 1529.

† In the Harleian Library in the British Museum there is one of the cardinal's inventories. When I opened it, the sand was still sticking on the ink, and it appeared in many places not to have been opened since it was written.

different chambers and galleries, were held by his treasurer at the disposal of the king.

XXI. With his train of gentlemen and yeomen he proceeded to his barge, which lay at the Privy-garden stairs, where a vast multitude was assembled, silently waiting, in the expectation of seeing him conveyed to the Tower. One of his domestics, with much concern, mentioned what the crowd expected. The cardinal, gently reprimanding the servant for his credulity and officiousness, said, that he took a bad way to comfort his master in adversity. "I would have you," added he, sternly, "and all the authors of such false reports, to know, that I never deserved to be sent to the Tower*." The barge was rowed to Putney, where he landed, and mounted his mule. The servants followed; but they had not advanced far when a horseman was discovered riding down the hill towards them. It was a messenger from the king, sent to assure him of unaltered esteem and kindness; and to say that the severity which he suffered was caused more by political considerations than by motives of anger or resentment. "His majesty in this," said the messenger, "only follows the advice of others; and therefore your grace should not give way to despondency, but cherish comfortable hopes." In the surprise and gratitude of the moment, Wolsey alighted from his mule, and, kneeling down on the spot, lifted up his hands to heaven, rejoicing that he still possessed so much of the king's affection. He rewarded the bearer of this gratifying intelligence with a chain of gold and a precious relic from about his

* Fiddes, 498.

neck* ; and as a proof to the king of the pleasure which his message had afforded, he sent him a jester from among his train, with whose buffooneries Henry had often been diverted. It might be inferred from this incident, that the cardinal's disgrace was only a stratagem to intimidate the pope ; but his enemies turned it to their own advantage, and he was left deserted at Ashur.

XXII. Ruin is doubtless the same to men of all conditions ; but persons in elevated stations, as they fall from a greater height than men of ordinary rank, perhaps suffer under a more overwhelming sense of calamity. Disgrace also is more acutely felt as it is more generally known, and the interest of a whole people adds an ideal weight to the misfortunes of fallen greatness. Wolsey now stood forth to view confessedly a ruined man. Sudden adversity had blasted all his blushing honours ; and, as a sure prognostic of approaching decay, the ephemeral swarms, which had lived in his shade, disappeared, and left him in solitude. Of all afflictions which assail the human heart, ingratitude has ever given the severest blow ; and men who have lost the possession of extensive power are peculiarly exposed to the evil. The official dependants of the cardinal manifested the common baseness of political adherents ; and none but his immediate domestics, who partook in the overthrow of his fortunes,

* "The cardinal presented the messenger with a chain of gold, at which a piece of the cross hung ; but it troubled him much that he had nothing to send to the king, till at last, having espied in his train a facetious natural, in whom he took much delight, he desired the messenger to present him to the king. The fellow, however, did not much relish his promotion, for the cardinal was obliged to send six of his tallest yeomen to carry him to court."—*Lord Herbert*, 293.

remained to console their fallen master. Bodily suffering would have been relief to his proud and fervent mind ; but to be left alone to brood over his disgrace ; to feel the coldness of deliberate neglect ; to be conscious of the insolent triumph of his enemies ; and, with so liberal a spirit, to be deprived of the means of rewarding the faithful attachment of his servants, was a punishment, as he observed himself, far worse than death. The agitations of suspense gradually subsided into despondency, and he was seized with that sickness of spirit which is more fatal to the powers of life than the sharpest sorrow. Had he been sent to the scaffold, he would in all probability have met death with firmness ; but the course which the king pursued, though dictated, no doubt, by some remains of tenderness, was that of all others against which he was least able to bear himself with fortitude*.

* In the fine moral scene between Wolsey and Cromwell, in Henry VIII., Shakespeare appears to have made use of Storer's poem ; at least there is something in the tone of the following stanza that reminds me of several expressions in the cardinal's reflections :

" If once we fall, we fall Colossus like,
We fall at once like pillars of the sun ;
They that between our stride their sails did strike,
Make us sea marks where they their ships do run,
E'en they that had by us their treasure won."

BOOK VII.

HENRY VIII. had now reigned upwards of twenty years with great prosperity and renown. Had he died before the close of the cardinal's administration, he would have been commemorated as one of the best, as he was unquestionably one of the ablest and greatest, monarchs that ever wore the crown of England. Much of his celebrity would obviously have been due to Wolsey; but if princes are individually blamed for the errors and failures of their ministers, humanity claims for them the honour of their wisdom and success. As they are responsible for the measures of the men whom they employ, it is but just that they should be allowed the merit of discernment when they promote those who maintain the dignity and advance the power of their states. In this respect, Henry is entitled to great praise; for, except by the mission to Maximilian, in the preceding reign, Wolsey was unknown as a public character, and had not, by any series of actions or particular exploit, excited a disposition to believe him qualified for the high offices which he so suddenly obtained. Whatever the motives were, which induced the king to

confer upon him the chief exercise of the royal prerogatives, the sagacity by which he perceived his fitness, would have been admired in the profoundest politician. By presenting the cardinal, as the main spring of the government, he screened himself from the clamour against unpopular undertakings; and, in interposing occasionally to please the people, he acquired more distinguished applause; while, at the same time, the great talents of Wolsey justified the confidence which he continued to bestow. But from the dismissal of the cardinal, his history exhibits a new character. Unrestrained by deference to the opinion of any other, and no longer fully confiding in the abilities of counsellors, whom he was habituated to regard as inferior men, his arbitrary spirit assumed the mastery of the government; and his natural frankness, unqualified for the practice of that reserve and procrastination which is, perhaps, essential to the management of public affairs, betrayed him into violent courses, which the ready agency of the priesthood, and the complacency of the parliament, shamefully facilitated. But such is the system of Providence. The base propensities of individuals yield beneficial results to the species, and particular evils always engender general good. To the caprice of Henry VIII., and the sycophancy of his counsellors, England owes the reformation of religion, and the reduction of ecclesiastical power.

II. The cardinal, for more than seven years, had contrived to manage the government without parliamentary advice. The revenue and ordinary resources were adequate to the expenditure; and therefore it was unnecessary to trouble the peers and representatives: for pecuniary necessities constitute the motive which induces ministers to convene

the collective council of the nation. After the dismissal of Wolsey parliament was assembled, both on account of the state of the exchequer, and the vengeance which the king had vowed against the pope for revoking the process to Rome. Except in the appointment of sir Thomas More to the chancery, no change had taken place in the administration; yet the counsellors had the effrontery to throw upon the cardinal all the blame of the unpopular proceedings, in which they had themselves been previously concerned. It is the frequent recurrence of such examples of public dereliction, that sickens to disgust, and sours into misanthropy, the feelings of historians in relating the cabals and conspiracies of courts. But the ministers of Henry VIII. were not influenced by those considerations which induced Wolsey to overlook present obstacles in contemplating the consequences of his undertakings. They felt not the desire of that renown which can only be attained by accomplishing works of utility. They wanted that prophetic anticipation of the effects of existing circumstances, which alone enables statesmen to dignify and even to hallow those acts of temporary injustice which seem so often mysteriously imposed upon their transactions. They were fastened close down to sordid and selfish aims; and their views and faculties were limited to momentary expedients, which disturbed, without altering, the great current of human affairs. They procured from parliament acts which abridged the prerogatives of the clergy, in order to manifest to the court of Rome the resolution of the king to maintain his royal supremacy. The utility of these measures obviates the objection to the morality of the motive; but other laws were obtained that have no such apology. The king had contracted

debts, and they absolved him from the payment; and, as if the letting loose of delinquents on society could have been any compensation to his creditors, or any indemnity to mankind, for the public violation of common honesty, a general pardon for all offences, except the crimes of murder and treason, was granted*. Articles of impeachment were also drawn up against the cardinal, characteristic of the folly and wickedness of the new administration. He was charged with superiority of talents, and surpassing assiduity in business; and with being eloquent in discourse, sarcastic to the presumptuous, liberal, lofty-minded, subject to the common frailties of man, and disagreeable when afflicted with disease†. The main strength of his enemies lay in the house of lords, among the nobility, the prelates, and abbots; and the bill of impeachment, in consequence, passed that branch of the legislature. But, in the house of commons, Thomas Cromwell, who had been secretary to the cardinal, so manfully exposed the absurdity of the charges, and so powerfully vindicated the integrity of his old master, that the commons threw out the bill as unworthy of investigation. This circumstance, considering the times, and the general subserviency of the house of commons to the crown, was the most emphatic eulogium that could be pronounced on the long and various administration of Wolsey.

III. The impeachment having failed, the cardinal was immediately indicted on the sixteenth statute of Richard II., for having exercised his legatine commission without the king's authority‡.

* Lord Herbert, 325.

† See Appendix for the articles.

‡ Burnet, 77.

One of the judges was sent to Ashur to receive his answer to this shameless accusation. The reply of Wolsey was proud and melancholy. "I am," said he, "now sixty years old, and the best of my days have been spent in his majesty's service, in which my whole endeavour was to please him; and is this that heinous offence for which I am deprived in old age of my all, and driven, as it were, to beg my bread? I expected some higher charge; not that I am guilty, but because his majesty knows how ill it becomes the magnanimity of a king to condemn, without a hearing, a servant who was greatest in his favour; and to inflict for a slight fault a punishment more cruel than death. What man is he that would not die, rather than witness those, whose faithful service he has long experienced, starving around him? But, since so little can be alleged against me, I hope that this machination of combined envy will be as easily broken as my impeachment was thrown out of the Parliament. It is well known to the king, that I would not have presumed to exercise my legatine commission without his royal assent. All my property, as you know, is under sequestration; I cannot, therefore, at present, produce his letters, neither indeed if I could would I; for why should I contend with the king? Go, therefore, and tell him, that I acknowledge all that I have, (but of what do I speak? for I have nothing left,) or whatsoever I had, to be the gifts of his royal bounty; and it is but just that he should revoke his favours if he think me unworthy of them. I remit my cause to him, to be at his pleasure either condemned or pardoned. If you will have me acknowledge myself guilty, be it so; but the king knows my innocence, and neither my own confession, nor the detractions of my enemies, can

deceive him*.” The judge then requested him to resign York place†, the archiepiscopal residence in Westminster. The cardinal, not considering it as his property, was surprised at the request, and said to the judge, “ Sir, I know that the king possesses a royal spirit, not requiring more by law than what is reasonable; therefore I advise you, and all his council, to put no more into his head than may stand with his conscience. The council of a king ought to respect equity more than law; for it is more honourable to do what is just than what is lawful. The king, for his own dignity, should mitigate the rigour of the laws; and it is for this purpose that he has appointed a chancellor, with power to appease and restrain the severity with which, in some cases, they might operate. And now, sir, can I give away that which belongs as much to those who shall succeed me as to myself? I pray you, show me whether it be consistent with law or equity?” The judge was perplexed by these observations, and knew not well what answer to give. “ In truth,” said he, “ there is little equity in the matter; but the king’s great power is sufficient to recompense the see of York with double the value of the place.” “ That I know,” replied the cardinal, “ but there is no such condition in the proposal. You require of me a full and entire surrender of the rights of others with which I have been entrusted. If every bishop were to comply with such a request, what would become of the patrimony of the church? But I must submit to the king’s power. I charge you, however, to exonerate me from the guilt of this act; and to tell his majesty to

* Godwin’s Annals, page 62.

† Whitehall.

remember, that there is both a heaven and a hell." With this answer the judge returned to London.

IV. The declaration was received as the confession of his offence, and the sentence of the law was pronounced. All his possessions and moveables were forfeited to the crown, but he was not, as the law commands, committed to prison. The fate of his colleges gave him most pain. He had indulged a fond expectation that they would have been his monuments with posterity, as a patron of knowledge, and a benefactor to his country; but they too were confiscated. He wrote to the king, humbly, as on his knees, and with weeping eyes, to spare the college at Oxford. No answer was returned*.

V. Cromwell, who, in the house of commons, had so ably defended him, acted with such open and manly intrepidity in the cause of his deserted master, that he won the esteem of all parties. Being on a visit of consolation to him at Ashur, he one day took occasion to mention, that no provision had been made for several of the servants who had proved themselves very faithful, and had never forsaken him. "Alas!" replied the cardinal, "you know that I have nothing to give them, nor to reward you." Cromwell then proposed that the cardinal's chaplains, who had been preferred to rich benefices by his influence, should, with himself, contribute a little money for the support of the domestics; and it was agreed that, as the return of the king's favour was uncertain, it was necessary to reduce their number. The servants were, therefore, summoned into the hall, at the upper end of which stood Wolsey in his pontifical robes, attended by the chaplains and officers of his household, with whom he

* Lord Herbert, page 339.

continued in conversation till the whole were assembled. Turning to address them, he paused for a moment. The sight of so many faithful, though humble friends, powerfully touched his feelings, and for some time he was unable to speak. The tears started into his eyes, and the servants, perceiving his emotion, gave way to their own sorrows. When he had recovered from his agitation, and silence was restored, he spoke to them in the following manner. "Most faithful gentlemen, and true-hearted yeomen, I lament that in my prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, nor what was then in my power. I considered, indeed, that if I promoted you, to the exclusion of the king's servants, I should have been exposed to their malice, and to the slander of the world. But now my power is gone. It has pleased the king to take away all that I had, and I have nothing left but my robe. My punishment, however, far exceeds my offence; and I trust to be soon restored to his majesty's favour, when I shall remember the treasure I possessed in you, the value of which I knew not before. Whatever may then be the surplus of my income, it shall be divided among you; for I will never consider the riches of this world as given for any other end than for the maintenance of that condition to which Providence calls me. Should the king not soon replace me in his confidence, I will recommend you to himself or to some nobleman; and I trust that the king or any nobleman will yet respect my recommendation." He concluded by advising them to repair to their families; and Cromwell and the chaplains having raised a sum of money for their relief, it was immediately distributed, and many of them departed to their respective homes.

VI. The apprehension of retaliation often engenders in the minds of aggressors sentiments which resemble the workings of revenge; and base spirits, when they have happened to injure, often deliberately continue to persecute. The enemies of the cardinal combined to prevent the king from ever seeing him again, and continued to mortify his proud heart, in the hope that innocence, provoked by injustice, would betray him into some imprudent expression of indignation. Henry himself has indeed been suspected of sanctioning their cruelty from a vicious principle of policy, in the expectation, that as Wolsey disregarded popular clamour, he might, for the restoration of his grandeur, not scruple to sustain even the obloquy of the roman consistory, by pronouncing the sentence of divorce. But he ought to have known his lofty character better; and that the love of fame, which renders public men incorruptible, though nearly allied to the love of power and splendour, never admits rank into comparison with reputation. The treatment which the cardinal received, wounded without irritating. The eagerness with which his former associates endeavoured to rise on his ruins,—the neglect of those who had shared his bounty,—the abortive assurances that he had received from the king*,—and the conviction that, without being restored to

* Storer, in making him describe his feelings after his fall, uses one of the most pathetic and original images in poetry :

“ I am the tomb where that affection lies,
That was the closet where it living kept ;
Yet, wise men say, Affection never dies,
No, but it turns ; and, when it long hath slept,
Looks heavy like the eye that long hath wept.”

favour, he never could be able to contradict the wilful misrepresentation, which was daily made, of his purest intentions, but must transmit a blemished and defaced character to posterity,—corroded his feelings to such a degree, that his life was despaired of. Henry, being informed of his indisposition, inquired of one of the court physicians, who had professionally visited Ashur, what was the matter with the cardinal, and learning that it arose from dejection, struck the table violently with his hand, exclaiming, “I would rather lose twenty thousand pounds, than that he should die; make you haste, therefore, with as many as are of your profession about the court, and endeavour to recover him*.” He then took from his finger a ring, charged with a ruby, on which his own head was engraved, and sent a gentleman with it and many kindly assurances to the cardinal; and he ordered Ann Bullen, who happened to be present, to send also some token of her regard; and she submissively obeyed, giving the doctor a golden tablet from her side, which she requested him to deliver from her. Soon after, Wolsey was regularly pardoned†, and replaced in the see of York, with a pension of a thousand marks per annum, from the bishopric of Winchester; and Henry, unknown to the privy council, restored to him plate and effects to the value of more than six thousand pounds. These unexpected testimonies of affection essentially contributed to his recovery; and having been allowed permission, when he resigned the palace at Hampton, to reside in Richmond castle, he ventured to solicit leave to remove from Ashur to the more cheerful air and

* Godwin's Annals, 63.

† Feb. 12, 1530.

scenery of that mansion; which was readily granted*. But his enemies, fearing that, if he was permitted to reside long so near the court, the king might be induced to visit or recal him, recommended that, as he was not now detained by the duties of the Chancery, he should be sent to the government of his diocese; and he was accordingly banished to York.

VII. Some time previous to his departure, the domestics observed an interesting change in his demeanour. Like many other great men in adversity, his mind took a superstitious turn, and seemed to discover, in accidents certainly trivial, an ominous and fatal meaning†. He grew pensive, wore a shirt of haircloth, and

* Lord Herbert, 303.

† "As my lord was accustomed to walk towards the evening in his garden there (*Richmond*), and to say his even-song, and other his divine service, with his chaplain, it was my chance to wait upon him; and standing in an alley, whilst he in another alley walked with his chaplain, saying his service as is aforesaid; as I stood I espied certain images of beasts counterfeited in timber standing in a corner under the lodge, to the which I repaired to behold; among whom I saw stand there a dun cow, whereon I most mused, because of the like entailing (*sculpture*) thereof. My lord, being in the further side of the garden, espied me, how I viewed and surveyed these beasts; and, having finished his service, came suddenly upon me or I was aware, and, speaking to me, said, 'What have you espied here, that you look attentively upon?' 'Forsooth, if it please your grace,' quoth I, 'here I behold these images; the which, I suppose, were ordained to be set up within some place about the king's palace: howbeit, sir, among them all, I have most considered this cow, in which, as me seemeth, the workman has most lively showed his cunning.' 'Yea marry,' quoth he, 'upon this cow hangeth a certain prophecy, the which is this; because peradventure you never heard it before, I will show you. There is a saying,

held frequent conferences with a venerable old man, belonging to the brotherhood of the Charter-house, at Richmond*.

VIII. He commenced his journey towards York about the end of Lent. His train consisted of a hundred and sixty horse, and seventy-two waggons, loaded with the relics of his furniture. How great must have been that grandeur which, by comparison, made such wealth

When the cow rideth the bull,
Then, priest, beware thy scull;

of which prophecy neither my lord that declared it, nor yet I that heard it, understood the effect; although the compassing thereof was at that present aworking, and about to be brought to pass. This cow the king had by reason of the earldom of Richmond, which was his inheritance; and this prophecy was afterwards expounded in this way: The dun cow, because it was the king's beast¹, betokened the king, and the bull betokened mistress Ann Bullen, who was after queen, because that her father had a black bull's head in his cognizance, and was his beast; so that when the king had married queen Anne, the which was unknown to my lord, or to any other, that he would do so: then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled. For what numbers of priests, religious and seculars, lost their heads for offending such laws as were made to bring this marriage to effect, is not unknown to all the world'."—*Wordsworth's Cavendish*, page 480.

* "Every day he resorted to the Charterhouse there (*Richmond*), and in afternoons he would sit in contemplation with one of the most antient fathers of that house in their cells, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vain glory of the world, and gave him shirts of hair to wear, the which he wore diverse times after."—*Wordsworth's Cavendish*, page 481.

¹ Almost all the signs of the public houses in England were originally the crests or arms of popular public characters. The dun cow of the ale-houses probably originated in the reign of Henry VII., who was earl of Richmond. The chequer of the public houses in London was the arms of the earls of Arundel, who had antiently the privilege of licensing them.

appear poverty. Having stopped at Peterborough to celebrate the festival of Easter, on Palm-sunday he walked in the procession of the monks to the cathedral; and on the following Thursday kept Maunday, according to the practice of the church, washing the feet of the poor, and bestowing alms and blessings*. From Peterborough he proceeded slowly, exercising his pastoral functions by the way, and halted at Stoby, where he resided till Michaelmas, preaching in the churches of the adjacent parishes, interposing to reconcile the variance of neighbours, relieving the necessitous, and performing many other exemplary acts of piety and benevolence. He then went forward to Caywood castle, one of the residences of the archbishop of York, distant from the city about twelve miles. A great conflux of people, drawn together by curiosity, waited to see him arrive; among whom were the clergy of the diocese, who welcomed him with the reverence due to his pontifical dignity. The castle, having been long untenanted, required extensive repairs, which the cardinal immediately commenced; for nature and habit made him decisive and prompt in all circumstances. The

* "Upon Palm-sunday he bore his palm, and went in procession with the monks, setting forth the divine right honourably, with such singing men as he had there of his own; and upon Maunday-Thursaday he made his maunday there in our Lady's Chapel, having fifty-nine¹ poor men, whose feet he washed and kissed; and, after he had wiped them, he gave every of the said poor men twelve pence in money, three ells of good canvas to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two shillings."—*Wordsworth's Cavendish*, page 485.

¹ This number denoted that he was then fifty-nine years old.

short period of his residence in this antient mansion was, perhaps, the happiest of his life. He appeared delighted with the composure of rural affairs; and, by the equity of his demeanour, and a mild condescension, which belied the reports of his haughtiness, he won the hearts of his diocesans*. He professed himself a convert from ambition; and, having suffered the perils and terrors of shipwreck, he was thankful that at length he had cast anchor in a calm and pleasant haven, with the expectation of safety and rest.

IX. As he had never been installed in the archiepiscopal see, he gave orders to prepare the cathedral for the ceremony, and a day was appointed for the celebration. On this occasion the arrangements were unusually simple, and indicated the altered frame of his mind. As the day approached, incredible quantities of provisions were sent to him by the neighbouring gentry and clergy, in order that he might maintain the customary hospitalities in a style suitable to his character; and, in the mean time, he was flattered by several friendly messages from the king. The pleasure which the latter afforded was so obvious and lively, that it was difficult to determine, whether it arose from a rekindled hope of restoration, or was only the exulting joy of finding his integrity vindicated. But the triumph or the illusion was of short duration, and only served to inflame the sense of disappointment, and to enhance the shock of a second fall.

X. The Monday after All-souls day was fixed for the installation; but, on the preceding Friday, as he was sitting at dinner, the earl of Northumberland, who, while lord Percy, had been educated in his house, and whose intended marriage with Ann Bullen the cardinal

* "A Remedy for Sedition," published in 1536.

had been the means of frustrating, accompanied by a privy counsellor and a large retinue, arrived at the castle. He was received with a paternal and a cheerful welcome, and conducted by Wolsey into his own apartments; where they had not, however, exchanged many words, when the earl became agitated, and, in a low and troubled voice, declared him arrested for high treason. Astonished by a charge so unexpected, Wolsey, for some time, was unable to speak; but, recovering his spirits, he requested Northumberland to show the warrant, protesting that otherwise he would not surrender himself; for as a member of the college of cardinals he was exempted from the jurisdiction of all secular princes. At this moment the privy counsellor entered the room. Wolsey, on seeing him, observed that, as a counsellor of the king, he was sufficiently commissioned to take him into custody, and immediately intimated that he was their prisoner. "I fear not," added he, "the cruelty of my enemies, nor a scrutiny of my allegiance; and I take heaven to witness, that neither in word or deed have I injured the king, and will maintain my innocence face to face with any man alive *."

* Cavendish, with his accustomed minuteness, gives a very pathetic account of the cardinal's feelings on the day prior to his removal from Cawood. — "I resorted unto my lord, where he was sitting in a chair, the tables being spread for him to go to dinner. But as soon as he perceived me to come in, he fell out into such a woe-ful lamentation, with such rueful tears and watery eyes, that it would have caused a flinty heart to mourn with him; and as I could, I, with others, comforted him; but it would not be: for (quoth he) 'now I lament that I see this gentleman (meaning me) how faithful, how dilligent, how painful, he hath served me, abandoning his own country, wife and children, his house and family, his rest and quietness, only

XI. When it was known in the neighbourhood that he was to be conveyed to London, a great crowd assembled round the castle; and as he came out on his mule, guarded, the people began to exclaim, "God save your grace, and foul evil overtake them that have taken you from us." With these and other testimonies of popular affection,

to serve me, and I have nothing to reward him for his high merits. And also the sight of him causeth me to call to my remembrance the number of faithful servants that I have here with me, whom I did intend to prefer and advance to the best of my power from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing here to reward them; all is deprived me, and I am left their miserable and wretched master. Howbeit (quoth he to me, calling me by name) I am a true man, and you shall never have shame of me for your service.' 'Sir, (quoth I unto him) I do nothing mistrust your truth; and for the same I will depose both before the king and his honourable council. Wherefore, sir, (kneeling upon my knee) comfort yourself, and be of good cheer. The malice of your ungodly enemies cannot and shall not prevail. I doubt not but, coming to your answer, my heart is such, that ye shall clearly acquit yourself, so to your commendation and truth, as that, I trust, it shall be much to your great honour, and restitution unto your former estate.' 'Yea, (quoth he) if I may come to my answer, I fear no man alive, for he liveth not that shall look upon this face (pointing to his own face) that shall be able to accuse me of any untruth; and that know well my enemies, which will be an occasion that they will not suffer me to have indifferent justice, but seek some sinister means to dispatch me.' 'Sir, (quoth I) ye need not therein to doubt, the king being so much your good lord, as he hath always showed himself to be, in all your troubles.' With that came up my lord's meat; and so we left our former communication, and I gave my lord water, and set him down to dinner; who did eat very little meat, but very many times suddenly he would burst out in tears, with the most sorrowful words that have been heard of any woeful creature."

Wordsworth's Cavendish, page 519.

he was followed to a considerable distance. Northumberland conducted him to Sheffield-park, and delivered him to the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, with whom he resided about a fortnight, until the king's further pleasure was known. Shrewsbury entertained him with the respect that became his own honour, and assured him, that though the king could not satisfy the council without sending him to trial, still he believed him guiltless, and that his enemies dreaded his restoration to favour more than he ought to do their malice. But the cardinal could no longer be cheered. He considered his destruction as irrevocably fixed, and resigned himself to the comfortless thoughts which that gloomy notion inspired. His constitution, impaired by age and the vicissitudes of hope and fear, suddenly gave way. One day, at dinner, he complained of a coldness in his stomach, and was soon after seized with a violent flux, which greatly drained his strength. In this situation he was found by sir William Kingston*, constable of the Tower, who, with twenty yeomen of the guards that had formerly been in his own service, came to convey him to London. In the whole of his treatment, from the moment of his

* The cardinal having been once informed that he should die at Kingston, he interpreted it to mean Kingston on the 'Thames; which made him always avoid the riding through that town, though sometimes the nearest way to his house from the court. Cavendish, hearing of sir William's arrival, went to the cardinal, who was sitting on a chest at the upper end of the gallery, with his staff and his beads in his hand. Upon hearing the name of sir William Kingston, he repeated it once or twice, and sighed deeply, adding to some observations which Cavendish made, "Well, well, I perceive more than you can imagine or do know. Experience of old hath taught me."

arrest, a great degree of respect and consideration was shewn to him, and it appears to have been at the special command of Henry. Sir William, on being taken to his presence, knelt down, and assured him, in the king's name, of his majesty's unbroken friendship; adding, that it was not necessary for him to make more haste in the journey than suited his health and convenience. The cardinal, however, thought that delay might be regarded as evidence of conscious guilt, and, declining the indulgence, anxiously proceeded forward. Although he travelled slowly, his illness was increased by fatigue, and he grew weak and feverish. On the evening of the third day after leaving Sheffield park, he approached Leicester. — The appearance of nature accorded with the condition of the prisoner. The end of the year was drawing nigh, and the cardinal beheld for the last time the falling leaf and the setting sun.

XII. When the cavalcade reached the monastery, the day was shut in; and the abbot and the friars, apprized of his coming, waited, with torches, at the gate to receive him. But the honours of this world had ceased to afford him pleasure, and as he passed towards the bottom of the stairs, he said to the brotherhood, "I am come to lay my bones among you." Being supported into a chamber, he immediately went to bed, and languished, with increasing signs of dissolution, all the next day. The following morning, Cavendish, his usher, and afterwards historian, as he was watching near him, thought that he perceived the symptoms of death. The cardinal, noticing him, inquired the hour, and was told eight o'clock; "that cannot be," he replied, "for at eight o'clock you shall lose your master. My time is at hand, and I must depart this world." His confessor, who was standing near,

requested Cavendish to inquire, if he would be confessed. "What have you to do with that?" answered he angrily; but was pacified by the interference of the confessor. Continuing to grow weaker and weaker, he frequently fainted during the course of the day. About four o'clock of the following morning he asked for some refreshment; which having received, and made confession, sir William Kingston entered his room, and inquired how he felt himself. "Sir," said Wolsey, "I tarry but the pleasure of God, to render up my poor soul into his hands;" and, after a few other words between them, he resumed, "I have now been eight days together troubled with a continual flux and fever, a species of disease, which, if it do not remit its violence within that period, never fails to terminate in death. I pray you commend me humbly to the king; and beseech him, in my behalf, to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have passed between him and me, particularly, in what respects the business of the queen; and then he must know whether I have given him any offence. He is a prince of a most royal nature; but rather than want any part of his pleasure, he will endanger the half of his kingdom. Often have I knelt before him for three hours together, endeavouring to persuade him from his will and appetite, and could not prevail. Had I served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs*."

* This sentiment seems to be common to fallen ministers. When Samrah, the governor of Busorah, was deposed by Maoujyah, the sixth caliph, he is reported to have said, "If I had served God so well as I served him, he would not have condemned me;" and Antonio Perez, the favourite of Philip II. of Spain, made a similar complaint.

He then continued for a short time to give sir William some advice, in case he should ever be called to the privy council, and adding a few general observations on the revolutionary temper of the times, concluded by saying, "Farewell, I wish all good things to have success. My time draws fast on. I may not tarry with you. Forget not what I have said; and when I am gone, call it often to mind." Towards the conclusion he began to falter, and linger in the articulation of his words. At the end, his eyes became motionless, and his sight failed. The abbot was summoned to administer the extreme unction, and the yeomen of the guard were called in to see him die. As the clock struck eight, he expired*.

XIII. The body, with the face uncovered, being laid out in pontifical robes, the magistrates and inhabitants of Leicester were admitted to see it, in order that they might certify the death. In the evening it was removed into the church; but the funeral service was protracted by unusual dirges and orisons, and it was past midnight before the interment took place †. Such was the end of this proud and

* November 29, 1530.

† Storer, in allusion to the obscurity of the cardinal's grave, says, in addressing Melpomene,

"Perchance the tenour of that mourning verse
May lead some pilgrim to my tombless grave,
Where neither marble monument nor hearse
The passengers' attentive vein may crave;
Which honours now the meanest persons have.
But well is me, where'er my ashes lie,
If one tear drop from some religious eye."

famous cardinal. The king, when informed of his death, was touched with sincere sorrow; and, as if it could in any way atone for his own conduct, he seemed anxious to reward all those who had shewn any kindness to his old favorite. On Cromwell he bestowed no inconsiderable portion of the power which his master had enjoyed; and Cavendish, whose prudence and fidelity had remained unshaken by the ruin which he had witnessed and shared, was promoted to wealth and situations which enabled him to become the founder of the princely dukedom of Devonshire. Henry, indeed, never ceased to regret the cardinal; and often in the perplexities which afterwards troubled his reign, lamented the loss of Wolsey, always pronouncing his name with an epithet of respect.

XIV. If it be true that no man by less effort ever attained so much dignity as cardinal Wolsey, few have been thrown down from so great a height, under the imputation of smaller crimes*. He was undoubtedly a character of the most splendid class. Haughty, ambitious, masterly, and magnificent, he felt himself formed for superiority; and his conduct, if not always judicious, was uniformly

Bishop Corbét, in his "Iter Boreale," also, in allusion to the same circumstance, says,

" Although from his own store Wolsey might have
A palace or a college for his grave;
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remembered were his fall;
Nothing but earth to earth, nor pompous weight
Upon him but a pebble or a quoit."

* Lord Herbert, 343.

great. His exterior was dignified, his demeanour courtly, his discernment rapid, his eloquence commanding, and his comprehension vast and prospective. The number, variety, and magnitude of his public trusts, in all of which he was eminently distinguished, are proofs of the elastic powers of his mind, and the versatility of his talents for business. His avidity to amass wealth was contrasted with an expenditure so generous, that it lost the name of avarice, and deserved to be dignified with that of ambition. His ostentation was so richly blended with munificence and hospitality, that it ought to be ascribed rather to the love of distinction than to vanity; and his pride was so nearly allied to honour and justice, that it seemed to be essential to his accomplishments as a statesman. All his undertakings showed the combining and foreseeing faculties of his genius. The league of London was the grand fundamental charter, by which the european nations recovered their independence from the pope; and the change in the alliance of England, after the battle of Pavia, was one of those rare and bold measures, which may divide the opinion of the world, as to their wisdom, but must command its admiration. The principle of that change, having its foundation in the league of London, was to preserve the equilibrium of Europe; and if consistency be essential to character, and character be strength as applied to nations, the dignity of England was obviously more advanced by adhering to her principles, than her power would have been augmented, by continuing the partnership of war with Charles. The cardinal's system for the reformation of the clergy, though defective in philosophy, was singularly liberal in

policy ; for statesmen are often by official necessity rather the protectors than the enemies of corruption. It is true that he did not calculate on all that flood of consequences which may be traced to his measures, but it could not have arisen from undertakings more partial. Therefore, whether estimated by his natural endowments, his fortune, or his designs, Wolsey must be considered as one of those great occasional men, who, at distant intervals, suddenly appear, surprising the world by their movements and their splendour ; and who, having agitated and altered the regular frame of society by their influence, are commemorated as the epochal characters of history.

APPENDIX.

BOOK I.

WHEN I first projected this work, I made a large collection of state papers, and copies of original letters, which I intended to have modernized in the orthography and grammar; but I was, afterwards, induced to alter this intention, and to consider the Appendix as the inferior part of my book. I have, therefore, only selected such of the papers as I thought necessary to verify the facts that I have added to the relation of circumstances in the narrative, and the notices that I have introduced of the different public personages with whom Wolsey had to deal. J. G.

No. I.

A narrative, supposed to be a contemporary, or rather a kind of gazette, account.

“ Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre or batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande. In whiche batayle the scottishe kynge was slayne.

“ The maner of thaduauncesyng of my lord of Surrey, treasourier and marshall of Englande and leutenunte generall of the north parties of the same, with xxvi.M men to wardes the kynge of Scots and his armye, vewed and nombred to an hundred thousande men at the leest.

“Firste my sayd Lorde at his beyng at Awnewik in Northumbrelande the iiij. daye of Septembre the v. yere of y^e reygne of kynge Henry the VIII. herynge that y^e kynge of Scottes thenne was remoued from North'me, and dyd lye at forde castel, and in those partyes dyd moche hurte in spoylyng, robynge, and brennyng, sent to the sayde kynge of Scottes ruge cros purseuaunte at armes to shewe vnto hym that for somoche as he the sayde kynge, contrary to his honour, all good reason and consyence, and his oothe of fidelite, for y^e ferme entartnyng of perpetuall peas betwene the kyng hygnes our souerayne lorde and hym, had inuaded this raalme, spoylad brente and robbyd dyuers and sondery townes and places in the same. Also had caste and betten downe the castel of Norhame, and crewelly had murdered and slayne many of the kynnes liege people, he was co'men to gyue hym baytal. And desyred hym y^t, for so moche as he was a kynge and great prynce, he wolde of his lusty and noble courage consent therunto, and tarye y^e same. And for my sayde lordes partie his lordeshyp promysed y^e assured accomplysshement and perfourmauce therof as he was true knyght to God and the kynge his mayster. The kynge of Scottes herynge this message reyceaued and kepte w^t hym y^e sayd ruge cros purseuaunte and wolde nat suffre hym at y^e tyme to retourne agayne to my sayd lorde.

“The v. daye of Septembre his lordshyp, in his approchyng nyghe to the borders of Scotlande, mustred at Bolton, in Glendayll, and lodged that nyght therein y^t felde with all his armye.

“¶ The nexte day beyng the vi daye of Septembre the kynge of Scottes sent to my sayd lor of Surrey a harolde of his called Ilaye, and demaunded if that my sayde Lorde wolde iustefye the message sent by the sayd purseuaunte ruge cros as is a foresayd, sygnefyinge that if my lorde wolde so doo it was the thyng that moost was to his joye and comforte. To this demaunde my lord made answer afore dyuers lordes, knyghtes, and gentlme' nyghe

iii myles from the felde where was the sayde harolde was apstoynted to tarye, bycause he shulde nat vewe the armye, that he commaunded nat oonly the sayde ruge cros to speke and shewe the seyde wordes of his message, but also gaue and comytted vnto hym the same by instruccyon sygned and subscribed with his owne hande, whiche my sayde lorde sayd he wolde iustefye. And for so moche as his lordshyp conceyued by the sayde harolde how joyous and comfortabel his message was to y^e sayde kynge of Scottes, he therfore, for the more assuraunce of his message, shewed that he wolde be bou'den in x.M LI and good suertes with his lordshyp to gyue the sayde kynge batayle by Frydaye next after, at the furthest, if that the sayde kynge of Scottes wolde assyne and appoynte any other erle or erles of his realme to be bounden in lyke maner that he wolde abyde my sayde lordes commynge. And for somoche as the sayd kynge of Scottes reyued styll with hym ruge cros pursueu'nte, and wolde nat suffre hym to retourne to my lorde, my sayde lorde in lyke and semblable maner dyd kepe with hym the scottesshe harolde Ilay, and sant to the sayd kynge of Scottes with his answere and further offer, as is af'dre rehersed, a gentylman of Scotlande that accompanied and came to my sayde lorde with the sayd harolde Ilay. And thus Ilay continued, and was kepte close, tyll the commynge home of ruge cros, whiche was the next daye after. And thenne Ilay was put at large, and lyberte to retourne to the kynge of Scottes his maystere, to shewe my lordes answres, declaracyons, and goodly offers, as he had hade in euery behalue of my sayde lorde.

“ ¶ The same daye my lorde deuyded his arme in two bataylles; that is, to wytte, in a vau'warde and a rerewarde; and ordeyned my lorde Howarde admorall, his sone, to be capitayne of the sayde vaunwarde, and hymselfe to be chefe capitayne of the rerewarde.

“ ¶ In the breste of y^e sayd vaunwarde was w^t the sayde lorde admorall ix thousande men; and vnder capitaynes of the same breste of the batayle was the lord Lumley, syr Wyll'm Bulmer, the baron of Hylton, and dyuerse

other of the bysshopryche of Duresme, vnder Seynt Cuthbert his banner; the lorde Scrope of Upsall, the lorde Ogle, syr Wylliam Gascoygne, syr Cristofer Warde, syr John Eueringh'm, sir Walter Griffith, syr John Gower, and dyuers other esquyres and gentylmen of Yorkeshyre and Northumberland. And in ayther wyng of the sam batayle was iiiM. men.

“¶ The capitayne of the right wyng was mayster Edmonde Howarde, son to my seyde lorde of Surrey; and with hym was syr Thomas Butler, syr John Boothe, syr Richarde Boolde, and dyuerse other esquyers and gentylmen of Lancasshyre and Chasshyre.

“¶ The capitayne of the laste wyng was olde syr Marmaduke Co'stable, and with hym was mayster Wyll'm Percy, his sons elawe, Will'm Constable, his broder, syr Robert Constable, Marmaduke Constable, Will'm Constable, his sones, and syr John Co'stable of Holdernes, with dyuerse his kynnesmen, allies, and other gentylmen of Yorkeshyre and Northumberlande.

“¶ In the breste of batayle of the sayde rerewarde was vM. men with my saide lorde of Surrey; and vnder capitaynes of the same was the lord Scrope of Bolton, syr Philype Cyney, broder elawe to my sayd lord of Surrey, George Darcy, sone and heyre to the lorde Darcy, sayde beyng capitayne of the firste batayle of the scottes fyersly dyd sette vpon maister Edmonde Howarde, capitayne of the vttermoste parte of the felde at the west syde. And betwene them was so cruell batayle that many of our partie, Chasshyren and other, dyd flee. And the sayd mayster Edmonde, in maner left alone, without socoure, and his standerde and berer of the same beten and hewed in peces, and hymself thryse stryken downe to the grou'd, howbeit, lyke a couragious and an hardy yonge lusty gentylman, he reconered agayne, and faught hande to ha'de with one sir Daay Home, and slewe hym with his owne handes. And thus the sayde mayster Edmonde was in great perell and daunger, tyll that the lorde Dacre, lyke a good and an hardy knyght, releued and came vnto hym for his socoure.

“¶ The seconde batayle came vpon my lorde Howarde. The thirde batayle, wherin was the kyng of Scottes and moste parte of the noble men of his reame, came fyersly vpon my sayd lord of Surrey. Whiche two bataylles, by the helpe of Elmyghty God, were, after a great confydelyete, venquysshed, ouercomen, betten downe, and put to flyght; and fewe of them escaped with their lyues. Syr Edward Stanley beyng at the vttermoste parte of the sayd rerewarde, onhes partie seyng the fourthe batayle redy to releue the sayde kyng of Scottes batayle, couragiously, and lyke a lusty and an hardy knyght dyd sette vpon the same, and ouercame and put to flyght all the Scottes in the sayd batayle. And thus, by the grace, socour, and helpe of Almyghty God, victory was gyuen to the reame of England; and all the scottyshe ordendn'ce wonne and brought to Ettell and Barwykein surelie.

“¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of sondry noblemen of the Scottes slayne at the sayde batayle and felde called Brainston's moore.

Firste y ^e kyng of Scotoes.	Lorde Elweston'.
The Archebysshop of Seynt	Lorde Inderby.
Androwes.	Lorde Maxwell.
The bysshop of Thyles.	Mac Keyn'.
The bysshop of Ketnes.	Mac Cleen'.
The abbot Ynchaffrey.	John' of Graunte.
The abbot of Kylwenny.	The maist: of Agwis.
Therle of Mountroos.	Lorde Roos.
Therle of Craforde.	Lorde Tempyll.
Therle of Argyle.	Lorde Borthyke.
Therle of Lennox.	Lorde Askyll.
Therle of Lencar.	Lorde Dawisfie.
Therle of Castelles.	Sir Alexander Sotlon'.
Therle of Boothwell.	Sire John' Home.
Therle Arell, constable.	Lorde Coluin.

Lorde Lowett.

Sir Daui Home.

Lorde Forboos.

Cuthbert Home, of Fascastell.

“ Over and aboue the seyd p’sones there at slayne of the Scottes, vewd by my lorde Dacre, the noumbre of xi. or xii. thousande mend. And of Englysshme’ slayne and taken prysoners vpon xii.c dyuers prysoners are taken of y^e Scottes, but noo notable person saue oonly syr Wyllm’ Scotte, knyght, counsellour of the sayde kynge of Scottes, and, as is sayd, a gentylma’ wel lerned; also s’r John’ Forma’, knyght, broder to the bysshop of Murrey; which bysshop, as is reported, was, and is, moost pryncypall procurour of this warre; and one other, called s’r John’ Colehone. Many other scottyshe prysoners coude and myght haue been taken, but they were soo vengeable and cruell in theyr fyghtyngy, that whenne englysshmen had the better of them they wolde nat saue them, though it so were that dyuerse scottes offered great su’mes of money for theyr lyues.

“ ¶ It is to be noted, that the felde beganne betwene iiij. and v. at after noone, and contynued within nyght. If it had fortunèd to haue ben further afore nyght many mo scottes had ben slayne and taken prysoners. Louynge be to Almyghty God, all the noble men of Englande that were vpon the same felde, bothe lordes and knyghtes, are safe from any hurte. And none of theym awantyng saue oonly maister Harry Gray, syr Huinfeide Lyle, bothe prysoners in Scotla’de, syr John’ Gower, of Yorkeshyre, and syr John’ Boothe, of Lancasshyre, both wantyng, and as yet nat founden.

“ ¶ In this batayle the scottes hadde many great auauntagies; that is to wytte the hyghe hylles and mountaynes, a great wynde with them, and sodayne rayne, all contrary to our bowes and archers.

“ ¶ It is nat to be doubted but the scottes fought manly, and were determyned outhur to wyne y^e felde or to dye. They were also as well apoynted as was possyble, at all poyntes, with armoure and harneys, so that fewe of

them were slayne with arrowes. Howbeit the bylles dyd bete and hewe them downe with some payne and daunger to englysshemen.

“ The sayd scottes were so playnely determyned to abyde batayle, and nat to flee, that they put from them theyr horses, and also put of theyr bo'tes and shoes, and faught in the vampis of theyr hooses, every man for the moost p'tie, with a kene and shape spere of v yerdes longe, and a target afore hym. And when theyr speres fayled and were all spent, then they faught with great end sharpe swerdes, makyng lytell or no noys withoue that, that for p'tie many of them wolde desyre to be saued.

“ ¶ The felde where y^e scottes dyd lodge was nat to be reprouyd, but rather to be co'mended greatly, for there many and great nombre of goodily tenttes, and moche good stuffe in the same; and in the sayd felde was plentie of wyne, bere, ale, beif, mutton, salfysshe, and other vytalles, necessary and conuenient for suche a great army; albeit our armye, doutynge that the sayd vytallyes hadde ben poysoned for theyr distruccyon, wolde nat saue, but vtterly destroyed them.

“ ¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of suche noble men as, after the felde, were made knyght, for theyr valyau'ce act, in the same by my sayd lorde therle of Surrey.

“ ¶ Firste, my lord Scrope, of Upsall.	Sir John' Hoothome.
Sir Will'm Percy.	Sir Nicholas Appleyarde.
Sir Edmonde Howarde.	Sir Edwarde George.
Sir George Darcy.	Sir Rauf Ellercar y ^e yo'ger.
Sir W. Gascoygne y ^e yo'ger.	Sir John' Wyliyby.
Sir Will'm Medlton'.	Sir Edwarde Echinghamme.
Sir Will'm Maleuerdy.	Sir Edwarde Musgraue.
Sir Thomas Bartley.	Sir John' Stanley.
Sir Marmaduke Costable y ^e yo'ger.	Sir Walter Stonner.
Sir Xp'ofor Dacre.	Sir Wyuiane Martynfelde.

Sir Raffe Bowes.	Sir Roger Gray.
Sir Briane Stapleton', of Wyghall.	Sir Thomas Connyers.
Sir Guy Dawny.	My lorde Ogle.
Sir Raffe Salwayne.	Sir Thomas Strangewase.
Sir Richarde Malleuerey.	Sir Henri Thiuaittes.
Sir Will'm Constable, of Hatefelde.	My lorde Lumley.
Sir Will'm Constable, of Larethorpe.	Sir X'p'ofe Pekerynge.
Sir X'p'ofe Danby.	Sir John' Bulmer.
Sir Thomas Burght.	" ¶ Emprynted by me, Richarde
Sir Will'm Rous.	Faques, dwillyng in Poulys church-
Sir Thomas Newton'.	yerde."
Sir Roger of Fenwyke.	

No. II.

QUEEN CATHERINE to MR. ALMONER WOLSEY, with the news of the battle of Flodden. From the Cottonian Collection.

"Mr. Almoner, When the last messenger went I wrote not to you, because I had not the suretie of any thing that was done in the battle against the Scots. Now, since that time, came a post from my Lord Howard, with a writing at length of every thing as it was; which I now send to the king; and you shall thereby perceive so great a gift that Almighty God hath sent to the king, for to me it is thought the greatest honour that any prince had, his subjects in his absence, not only, to have the victory, but also to slay the king and many of his noblemen. This matter is so marvelous that it seemeth to be God's doing alone. I trust the king shall remember to thank him for it, for so all the realm here hath done. And because you shall know by my lord Howard's letter every thing better than I can write, it is no need herein to say any more of it.

"Mr. Almoner, the king, when he was in Calais a little while ago, sent me a letter touching the matter betwixt my lord of Canterbury and my lord of Winchester. I did after his commandment, and showed the same, before sir Thomas Lovel and Mr. Engfield, unto my lord of Canterbury; and I prayed him to give answer shortly after the king's mind, as he knew it; for the matter was so new to me that I would go no further in it. Since that time I have divers seasons asked him for the said answer; which I could never have till now; and the same in a letter I send you herein also. I pray you, Mr. Almoner, excuse me to the king for the tarrying of it so long, for I could have it no sooner. And with this I make an end, praying you to continue your writing, which is to me a great comfort; and me thinketh it is a great while ago that I received any from you. At Hoburn, the 16 Sept. 1513.

KATHERINE THE QUEEN.

"Mr. Almoner, I cannot send you now my lord of Canterbury's answer, for the coffer wherein it is, is gone to my next lodging; and therefore I shall this night send it you by post."

No. III.

HENRY VIII. to THOMAS WOLSEY, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, relative to the negociation with the duke of Longueville, anno 1514. Republished from Dr. Fiddes's Collection. The orthography modernized by J. G.

"My lord of Lincoln, I commend me unto you, and let you wit, that I have spoken with the duke; who in the beginning was as ill afraid as ever he was in his life, lest no good effect should come to pass. Nevertheless, in farther communing, we went more roundly to our matters; in so much, that I said to him, seeing that the king your master hath sought so genteelly unto us, both amitie and marriage, I assure you (our honour saved) we could be well content to give hearkening thereto; and if the offers were rea-

sonable, agree upon those same. But this is not reasonable, except the amitie should no longer continue than the payment of the money; nor yet so, except there were a reasonable sum of money to be paid, in hand, by and by.

“ If his master will have the marriage, I cannot see how it can be conveniently, except the amitie be made during our lives, and one year after, to the intent that all suspicion on both sides may be set apart.

“ Which marriage and amitie your master may have under this manner; that is to say, paying yearly one hundred thousand crowns; and at his request I not to stick for ready money in hand, but I to stand content therewith, for recompence of all things.

“ Which, if your master consider what heritage he holdeth from me, and what good my amitie may do to help forth his matter in Italy, I think he will not greatly stick at.

“ This furthermore I said to the duke, Surely I cannot see how the amitie made for years can any longer endure than the payment, which expired, would be occasion of new breach and demands, whereby neither he nor I should live quietly; which, if there fell alliance, I would be loth to see; wherefore I see no way to eschew all dangers and perils, and to recompense me for withholding of my inheritance (which, if I would be slack in, my subjects would murmur at), but to make this amitie during our lives, and one year after, paying yearly as above rehearsed; which amitie once granted, the alliance should not be refused, nor no other thing which, with my honour saved, I might do. Saying furthermore to him, that if I might demand, with my honour, any less, or take any less offer (seeing his master is so well minded to the aforesaid alliance and amitie), I would be glad to do that, at his request; but less than this it cannot stand with my honour, nor my subjects will not be content that I should take.

“ My Lord, I shewed him furthermore, that if he thought we might trust

to have this end, I would be content that you and they should commune on all other articles concerning the amitie and marriage, till we might have absolute assurance in that behalf for lessing of time. To which he answered, that he could not assure me thereof; but that he trusted, seeing my demands were so reasonable, that his master would agree thereto. On trust hereon we will, that you begin to pen the residue of the articles, as soon as you can. And thus fare you well. Written with the hand of your loving master.

HENRY R."

No. IV.

MARY, QUEEN OF FRANCE, to CARDINAL WOLSEY, after her marriage with Lewis XII. From the Cottonian Collection.

"I recomaund me unto you as hertily as I can, and * * * * *
* * * as the kynge and you thought, I schuld have ben; for the morn next after the maryage, all my servants, both men and women, *were* discharged; insomoch that my mother Guldeford was also discharged, * * * whom, as ye knowe, the kynge and you willed me yn eny wyse to be *my* counceller; but for eny thyng I myght do yn no wyse myght I have my *grant* for her abode here, which I assure you, my lord, is moch to my discomffort, besyd meny other disco'ffortis, that ye wold butt lyttell have thought. I have not yet seen yn Fra'nce eny lady or jentillwoman so necessary for me as sche ys, nor yet so mete to do the kynge my brother service, as sche ys; and for my part, my lord, as ye love the kynge my broder and me, fynd the meanes that sche may yn all haste com here agayn; for I had as lefe lose the wynnynge I schall have yn Fraunce as to lose her counsell when I schall lacke it; which is not like long to be req'red, as I am sure the nobillmen and jentillmen can schew you more then becometh me to wryte on this matter. I pray you, my lord, gyf credens forther to my mother Guldeford, yn ev'ry thyng concer-

nyngge th's matter. And albehit my lord of Northfollke has nether deled best w^t me, nor yet w^t her, at this tyme; yet I pray you allwayes to be good lord unto her; and wold to God ——— I had be'n so good to have had you w^t me hither, when I had my lord of Northfollke. And thus, fare ye weale my lord. Wrytt * * * * * the xijth daye of October.

“ My lord, I pray you gyve credens to *me*, *my* lord, yn my sorows
* * * * *

No. V.

MARY, QUEEN OF FRANCE, to HENRY VIII, after the death of her old husband, Lewis XII. Cottonian Collection.

“ I com'ende me unto your grace, *and* wolde be very glade to here that your grace wer yn good helthe, and *to write me*, the w^{che} shold be a grete comfort to me * * that yt coueld plesse your grace *to write* mor oftyne to me than *you* do, for as now I am al owt of * * * * * that al my troust ys yn your grace, and so shall be during my lyfe; for I pray your grace that yt couelde plesse your grace to be so good lorde and brother to me, that you wel sende hether * * * * * † as you may posybel * * * * * me, for I be-shr'che your grace * * * that you wel kype all the promyses that you promest me wane I toke my leffe of you; for your grace knowethe *very well* that I ded mary for your plesyr ——— thys tym, and now I trouste that you wel sowfer me to *marry* * * * * * your grace that * * * * * ys not ther wer they wold have me, and I ——— trowsteth * * * * * wel not do so to me, that *has* bene so glad to folfel your comynde as I have bene: wherfor I beschye your grace for to be good lorde and brother to me for fere *of God*, yf your grace wol * * * * * maryde yn onny

† Possibly the duke of Suffolk, her sweetheart!

place * * * * ever as my * * * * * I wel be ther ever as your grace
 knowes, ne nothyr shal you have joye of me, for I promyse your grace you
 shal here that I * * * wel be yn some relygous *house*, the w'che I thyncke
 your grace wol be very sory of * * * * * your reme allso fere I * * *
 that that kyng that * * * shale newer be mery at * * * * * grace
 for and ewer that * * * * * wel I live I trow your grace knowythe as wel
 as I do, and * * * * for I cham be thye, and so I trowste your grace wel
 be contentyd, eles I wold never mary * * * * * but be ther wer newer
 * * * * * war woman shale * * * * * of me, werfor I besche
 your grace to be good lorde to hym, and to me bothe, for I knowe wel that
 he hathe *not* * * any henderayns to your grace * * * * hym and me
 bowthe * * * and your grace be good lord to us bowthe. I wol not
 change for all the worlde * * * * I beschye your grace be good lord and
 brother to me, as you have bene herafor tyme, for *Suffolk* ys all the trowst
 that I have * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

by your humbel and
 lowyng suster MARY,
 QUEENE OF FRANCE."

No. VI.

Letter from MARY, DOWAGER OF FRANCE, to WOLSEY, after her marriage
 with the duke of Suffolk. 22d March, 1515. Cottonian Collection.

"My very good lord, yn my most harty maner I recomend me unto yow,
 letyng you the sem for to onderstond, that my lord of Sowffolke hathe sent
 me your letter, wyche latly he resevyde by Calais; by wyche I parceve the

faythe fowle mynde wyche ye do bere unto us bowthe, and how that ye be
determinyde not to leve us yn owr presente trowbele; for the wyche your
most faste and lowyng delyng I most enterly thanke you; requeryng you to
continue towardes us as ye have begun * * * * shale newer befor * * *
* * * * ony off our behalves * * * * * uttermost of our * * * * *
be allwes redy to * * * * fayfthe fowle kend *the king* our lord, my brother
lyffe wrytten * * * * * my lord I requere you that I may have some
comsele and letters from the kyng my brothyr and * * * * * I trow thyr
was newer a man that had more,

by your lowyng frynd
MARY, QUEENE OF FRANCE."

BOOK II.

No. I.

GRANT of a PENSION from the EMPEROR CHARLES V. when King of Castille, to CARDINAL WOLSEY, 1517. From Fiddes's Collection.

This document shews, that at the time Wolsey negotiated the league of London, he was actually in the pay of Charles, as his enemies would have said; and yet in that matter he was at the time supposed to favour Francis, from whom he had no pay.

“ Charles, par la grace de Dieu, roy de Castille, de Leon, de Grenade, d'Arragon, de Navarre, des deux Sicilles, de Jerusalem, de Valence, de Majorque, de Sardayne, de Corsice, &c., archiduc d'Austrice, duc de Bourgogne, de Lothringe, de Brabant, de Stiere, de Carinte, de Carniole, de Lembourgh, de Luxembourg, & de Gheldres, conte de Flandres, de Habsbourg, de Tirol, d'Artois, de Bourgogne Palatyn & de Haynnau, lantgrave d'Elsace, prince de Zuuave, marquis de Burgaw & du Saint Empire, de Hollande, de Zeeland, de Ferrette, de Tribourg, de Namur, & de Zuytphen Conte, seigneur de Frise, des Marches de Slavonie, de Portenau, de Salins & de Malines, a noz amez & feaulx les Chiefs & Tresorer General Commis sur le fait de noz demaine & finances, salut & dilection.

“ Savoir vous faisons que, pour le bone & singulere affection que nous avons à la persone de tresreverend pere en Dieu nostre trescher & special ami l'archevesque d'York, cardinal & primat d'Engleterre, & pour aucunement le remunerer & guerdoner des labours, peins, & travail, qu'il a euz & prins pour dresser & conduire la bonne ferme & favorable amitie, confederation, & intelligence, derrainerement traictee & conclute entre treshault tresexcellent & trespuissant prince nostre treschere frere & bon oncle le roy d'Engleterre son

maistre & nous, à icellui seigneur cardinal, pour ces causes & autres à ce nous mouvans, à fin mesmement q'il soit tant plus enclin à tenir la main & soy employer à l'entretienement observation, augmentation, & ferme cōtinuation des dis amity & confederation, & en sur ce advis, avons ordonne, octroye, & accorde, ordonnons, octroyons, & accordons de grace especial, par ces presentes, prendre & avoir de nous la somme de trois mille liures, du pris de quarante gros de nostre monoie de Flandres la liure, de pension par an.

“ Dont voulons & ordonnons qu'il soit paye & contente par les mains de nostre ame et feal conseiller & receveur general de toutes nos finances, Johan Micault, ou d'autre receveur general de nos dis finances avenir, & des deniers de sa recepte, de demy an en demy an, par egal portion, à commencer le premier jour de Juillet l'an quinze cens & seize darreiner, passe, & d'oresnavant tant qu'il nous plaira.

“ Si voulons & vous mandons que, en faisant le dit seigneur cardinal joyr de noz dite grace, octroy, & accord, selon que dit est, vous lui faites par nostre dit receveur general des finances present & avenir, & des deniers de sa dit recepte payer, bailler, & deliurer, ou à son command pour lui, la dite somme de trois mille liures, des pris & monnoi que dessus, par chescun an, aux termes à commencer & tant qu'il nous plaira comme dit est.

“ Au quel receveur general de noz diz finances presente & avenir mandons, par ces diz presentes, que ainsi le face.

“ Et par rapportant ces mesmes presentes vidimus ou copie autentique d'icelle pour une et le premier fois, & pour tant de foiz que mestier serra, quietance souffisant d'icellui seigneur cardinal sur ce servant tant soulement, nous voulons tout ce que paye baille & deliure lui aura este à la cause dite estre passe et alloue es comptes et rebatu de la receipt de nostre dit receveur general des finances present & avenir, qui paye l'aura par noz amez & feaulx les president & gens de noz comptes à Lille, aus quelz mandons ausi par cestes ainsi le faire sans aucun contredit ou difficulte; car ainsi nous plaist il:

Non obstant quelzconques ordonnances, restrictions, mandemens, ou deffences a ce contraires.

"Don. en nostre ville de Gand le huitiesme jour de Juing, l'an de grace mille cinq cens & dix sept, et de nostre regne le second.

"PAR LE ROY.

"Les seigneurs de Chiernes grant et premier chambellan.

Vous le seigneur de Montigny.

Seigneur Measans Huchenay chiefz maistre.

Jehan Ruffault tresorer general des finances et audits presens.

N. HANETON.

"Sub Sigillo Parvo de rubea Cera Segmento Pergamenæ pendente.

"*Dor.*

"Les chiefz & tresorier general commis sur le fait des demaine & finances du roy de Castille, de Leon, de Granade, de Arragon, &c. archduc d'Austrice, &c. Receveur general des dis finances Jehan Micault, ou autre avenir. Acomplissez le contenué ou blanc de ces presentes tout ainsi selon & par la forme & manere que le roy le veult & mande estre fait par icelles. Esprit soubz les seigne Manuelz des dis chiefs & tresorier general le ix jour de Juing, l'an mille cinq cens & dix sept.

RUFFAU tresorier."

No. II.

To my LORD CARDINALL, from Saragossa, the 12th of May, 1518.

From the Cottonian Collection.

[This letter is one of those ghosts of public crimes, which, after many years, reveal the deeds of the guilty, and inform the world of what despicable and vicious stuff courtiers are commonly made. Wolsey has been accused by

the contemporary historians of being bribed at this time by the court of France. It appears, however, that there were other members of the english cabinet in the interest of France; but there is no proof that the cardinal was corrupted. At this period he enjoyed a pension from Charles (see the grant), which pension was equivalent to what he received for the bishopric of Tournay.]

“Please it your grace to know, that amongst divers things debated between the lord Shevers and the chanceler of Burgoyne, whereas they shewde us, and willed us, to write to your grace, that they had suer knowledge out of France, that the frensh kyng, and his counsell, reputed themselfe firme and faste of *d'virse* estates and nobles in England; to the whiche we answered, that we war ashured it was not soe; and noe ralme in the world, with all the subjects in the same, high and low, were more obedyant to the prince then the hole realme of England, in all degrees, to our master.

“They yet abided in their foresayd opynons. We answered them, that the frenchmen, willing to make discorde, do they imagin this, which never was intended nor thought. Sir Thomas Spynell informyth us, that one of the secretarys privately told hym of wrytings, upon a pension for your grace, whiche wrytings, when the said secretary did bring to be signed and sealed, the lord Shevers sayd, let hit alone, yet all promyses be not kept with me; which words to passe so wise a man's mouthe, and soe bolde, we do not believe; we wrytte as we be enformed.

“We have also with diverse thanks, and other good words of the best, for the said lord Shevers good conduct, and polyticke government.

“The ambassador of Spayne, being in England, wrote to the lord Shevers, that he had a present comyng from the king, or *you* by us, the chancellor hearing of this, *was* not content with the same, as sir Tho. Spynall enformed us.

“We think, under your grace's lycence, that hit was according such they have been promised, as the master of the rolls canne tell you; and do look

for hit also that there be sent to each of them some memorial, at the king's pleasure undoubtedly, after our opinion for their better safeguard, and their honesty also, they be both very good Englishe, they willed us to have them both recommendyd unto your grace.

"The lord Fynes, a much admired young man, and of his years of most reputation in the court, doos the humbly recomend hym unto y^r grace, your owne for ever he saythe.

"Of all other cawses sir John Styles, the berer, can well inform your grace; as of the infant's going into Flanders, of the metyng of the french kyng and the king * * * * about the borders of * * * * by the french ambassador, and not likely to be of the receyte of the kyng into Saragoza, with the conditions of the dyffering thereof * * of the * * * * archbishop's countenance and behaviour at the same receipt of all the kyng * * * * * lovers and frends of the court; and whether the kyng entendeth henceforward, to whom we beseech your grace to give * * * * * and for his long services to be his good and gracious lord; and we humbly beseech your grace otherwhile to have us in your remembrance; w^{ch} never shal forgete you, with Goddes grace, who ever more kepe and preserve.

From Saragoza, &c."

No. III.

Letter to CARDINAL WOLSEY. From the Cottonian Collection.

[This letter very distinctly proves, not only that Wolsey was not corrupted, as the contemporary historians have alleged, but shews that what he received from Charles was in consideration of the pension that was due from France for the bishopric of Tournay. It will appear afterwards, that when circumstances changed, and it became necessary to take the part of Francis

against Charles, in like manner the cardinal provided for his own interests, while he attended to those of the nation. To prove his corruption, it is requisite to shew, that in seeking his own advantage he sacrificed interests of the kingdom.]

“ Please it yo^r grace, I wrote to the same the viijth of Aprill, amongst other things, what conversation I had with * * * Almain; and now again, in the conv^on which I reoport in our comen letters, he sayde, the king’s highnes and your grace, by don * * * * * by the emperor’s comandment, refuseth to take the pension which the emp^r offereth, saying, ye will non, but ye will be free, and principally have respect to good cause. And then don * * * * * sayde, the emperor well knoweth that, and hath great confidence therein; but, p[’]adventour his majesty shall think that y^r grace myndeth not to doo any gratitude to him, if you refuse this pension; and then your grace answered, naye I refuse not, but p[’]adventure I wol take hit nowe. Saithe * * * * * Almain, why shuld your grace refuse it; in anywise yo^r grace must take hit; and I assure you, saith he, the emperor trusteth him mutche nowe indeed; awhile he doubted, but now ye berreth your mynde and confidence towards hym. I sayd, my lord grace, I know well, beareth his *mind* towards his majesty; and then I shewed hym certain clauses in yo^r grace’s letters, as to a frende; and then I sayde, I trust th’ emperor will have in remembrance yo^r grace’s pensions of Tourney, and the arrearage, for this is good right. He said that, with mutche more: first, saith he, in the conclusion of this peace, the money payde, therefore, shall be made first payment to the king’s highnes; and then my lord cardinal shall have all the arrearages paid out of hand, and hundred thousand ducats for his labor; and he must helpe that the som of money be gret, although it be the lesse, yet that is al we lok for, and yet he shal have six thousand ducats of new pension made sure in Castill, until he have recomp^{ce} in wherfore spirituall lands; as

for the nyne thousand crowns. he would not now tel wher they shold be answered, either here or in Flanders; and yet in tymes past, he told me here. Moreover, he sayd, if he wilbe good to the duke of Bourbon, he shal be made sure of twenty thousand ducats more, yearly, to him, and to his heirs for ever, out of the duchy of Mylain. I told that y^r grace wold have good cons'ons of all ——— takes for the arrearage of the pension of Tournay.

No. IV.

CHARLES V. to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

“ Mons^r. le cardinal mon bon amy, j'ay receu vos l^res du 5 de ce mois, par les quelles et ce que mes ambassadeurs mon escript de v^re part j'ay entendu v^re bon conseil la bonne * * * * soing et extimacion que pourtez de l'honneur et scheurte de ma personne, ensemble la bonne affection et inclination, que vous avez touchant les traité et indissoluble conjunction d'entre le roy, mon bon oncle, et moy, dont je vous remercie cordialement.

“ Et pour vous dire princēment ma resolution com'e cellui que je tiens pour mon bon et loyal amy et en qui j'ay ma * * * comme povez bien clere-ment à parcevoir, je vous advertis fra'chement que je suis delibere de moyen-nant l'ayde de Dieu fa^r et executé ceque j'ay entreprise, et mesment d'y aller en ma personne, car je ne puis laisser ny differtz pour mon bien et honneux dainte le faire, et combien que je tiens tres bons et * * * fort tout ce que * * * serv'ce propos et congruon que bon procede de bonne affection toutefois quand nous aurons parler ensemble, et que aurez euy et entendu mes raisons de ne faire * * * * que serez de mon advis et demeurrons bien co'te l'ung de l'autre.

“ Et pource comme j'aurez j'ay toujours * * * et preferee l'alliance et * * confederation du roy mon bon oncle sur toute lautres et fait encoures ainsi que pavez bien clerement cognog, d'autant que toutes choses sont si avant-

approucheis, tant de v're part que de la myene, et à cet effect pour y prendre meilleur et plus segeure conclusion, vous m'avez toujours fait dire, que me voulez advertiz, d' la part du dit p^r roy mon bon oncle, d'aucune choses que homme doit savoir n'y entendre que luy, vous et moy ; lesquelles choses je ne faire doubte sont de si grande importance, que pourra estre l'ung des principaules point du fondement de noz affaires ; et aussi, de mon couste, je vous ay fait dire que je suis delibere, pour la grande confidence que j'ay en vous, de semblablement vous declarer tout le fons de moy cœur, aussi avant que je feroje à la propre personne don sa roy mon oncle, et je me toujours ferme à mon propos et ces causes à qu'il est impossible de sçavoir bien traiter vraiment ni serieusement des matieres que vous scavoir, sans premierement envers desmelle et desconnæst l'ung à l'autre toutes ses grosses matieres. Je demeure aussi en ma resolution, que j'ay toujours desire, c'est de conclure avec vous moy mesmes, et user entierement de v're bon avis et conseil, et faire cela je feusse desiré en mon arme, à ces causes, et que vous cognoissoit le grand dommage que ce mest, de tant retarder mes aff'res, lesquelles sont telz que ne me peuent souffrir plus grande dillacion, et sous les choses si tres avant que je ne puis niouldroyt reculler de ce que j'ay entrepris, je vous prie sur tous les plaisers que uneouldreiz fer que vueillez avoir bon regard à ce que dessus. Et pour y prendre la totale co'clusion, vous vouloir trouver à Bruges dymanche prochain, jusques auquel jours je vous y actendray combien que ce me soit grosse retarducien et me ne laisse jamais pense si longue, car, sant point de fauète, il me feroit ung dommage irreparable passer les jour ny actendre plus avant ce que je suis ne vauldriz point, et si me voulez comme bien le pouvez fa . . . , et espert que ferez je ne faire mille doubte que vous et mois aurant fait en deux ou trois jours au plus tard, car nous feront plus en ung jour vous et moy ensemblée, que ne feroient mes ambassadeurs en ung mois, obstant qu'il ne fauldra renvoyer de l'ung à l'autre, que feroit une grande perdicion.

de temps, et aussi que par vos ex'es mes * * * que les fa roy mon bon oncle et vous, estes delibere de besoignez et conclure franchement avec moy, ce que je suis au semblable en bon vauloir fa', de ma part, comme le cognoissez par effet, si à vous ne tient, à ceste cause vous prie me faire ce plesir de * * * de v're bonne intencion le plutot que pourry car si ne voulez venir au dit jour, et que de ferer me venir truver plus loing comme en mon camp je vous montreray mon armée par laquelle cognoisstry que n'ay vuloir de dormir à l'ayde de Dieu et de mes bons amis, et me ferez le bien venu, comme plus au long je script à mes ambassadeurs pour le vous dire de ma part ensemble de mes nouvelles pour ce que à vous comme à mon bon ami j'entends ou nentement decl'er et communiquer tous mes affres et accla je continueray de bien en mieux, si plait à Dieu, auquel je prie, mons'r le cardinal mon mon ami, que vous ait en sa garde. Escript à Escloz les Bruges le d'Aoust 1521.

V're bon ami,

CHARLES."

BOOK III.

The following documents extend to transactions beyond the period comprehended in the text of Book III., and relate to circumstances which I did not conceive essential to be noticed in the text. The dispatches upon Scottish affairs afford much curious and interesting historical matter.

No. I.

“DEPOSITIONES ageynst the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

“First it is deposed he shuld say, if any thing shuld chaunce on’ to the kyng * * then well he is next to the crowne, and wold be kyng. Item, here was a monk of Charterhouse sent the sayd duk worde, that he shuld gette the favor of the comm’ens, and he shuld have *good will* of all. And theruppon the duk send don Dalecourt, his chaplyn, to the said monk, to knoy his mynd.

“Item, the said duk said, when the king’s grace was last here, that it hade happened well, he wold have chopped of my lord cardinell heed, and Lonell, and others, &c.

“It. it is deposed, that if the duk myht have had convenient tyme, he wold have done as much agenst the king as he could have done, &c.

“It. the duk said, that he hadde ben such a synner that he was sure he lakked God, and that he shuld spede the warre when he shuld begynne eny thyng agenst the king, and therefore he wold tarry his time.

“It. it is deposed, that the duke had done as much as he culd to have the favors of the kyng’s gude, and to mak meny * * * * * in his lands, to th’ intent that he might reteyne as many *men* as he cowde.

“It. he boght much clothe of golde, and other silks; and the same he gave to gentlemen, to *obbeye* and wyne theyre favor; and made gift of the same, w^hin a q’rt of a yere after the byinge of the said silks, &c.

"It. the said duk said, y^t if he hadde be comytted to the Tower, when he was in displeasure for s' Will^m Bowmere, that there was a frënd of his that hadde p'mysed to restore hym, w^h x thousand men, w^hin iiij days, &c.

"It. it is deposed, that the said duke argued and saide, he wold suffer * * * * arowe * * * * over convenient tyme, and that it would do well now iffe the noblemen * * * * ther mynnds together * * * * * ther mynnds * * * * * that there is no remedie for us, but suffer till a convenient tyme may come, for ther be but féwe of us contented we believe, and so unkindly handled.

"It. the monke schewed to the duke that he should be kyng, and then the sayd duk answered he wold be a rythe w^k * * iffe it came to passe.

"It. the said monke schewed to the duk, at another tyme, that he shuld be kyng, and that he had such knowledge by revelac'on; and to this p'pose he moved the duk to get love of the com'ens."

No. III.

"MARGARET QUENE OF SCOTTS Letter to my LORD CARDINALL.

"My Lord Cardinal, I comende me hartely unto you, and I have receyved yo^r wtyng, w^t the articles subscribed w^t your hand; whereunto I have made answer at length, in al poynts; and therfore I wil not be long to you in this w'tyng; but I pray you hartely, my lord, to consider wel the answeere of yo^r said articles; and not to take so grete regard as ye do by your w'tyng to my lord of Angwisshe; which and ye do will put grete trouble in this realme, and hable to put the king my sonne in his enemyes hands; wherfor, seying that I and my partakers have put the king my sonne oute of the dangier that he was in, I thinke it should be wel considered, and in such a sorte that th'erle of Angwysh shulde not be sent in this realme, and specially by the king's grace my brother, which must be o^r defendor and helper, and

shulde geve occasion to noblemen to take the kyng my sonnes p'te and myne, beleving that therthrowe to wynne his grac's favor, and wil cause theym to be the better myndede unto the kyng my sonne and me; and gif his grace will sende me therle of Angwishe, that is contrary p'te to therle of Arreyn, it will be occasion to hym to leve the good p'te that he hath reped, and to labor otherways for hymselfe, wher nowe he hath put hymselfe, and all his friends, in danger of their lyves, for the weale of the kinge my sonne, and me. And if this shuld not be loked upon, before the pleasure of th'erle of Anguishe, that did nev' stik stede and * * * * * to the king my sonne, nor may not do, suppose ye, my lord, by other wayes, I informed and gevis trust to the same, as the articles berith at length, not the lesse, my lord, I pray you, as my grete trust is in you, that ye wil labor in that sorte for me, that I and my partakers may be in a surety, that th'erle of Angwishe shall not come in Scotland, as at more length th'articles berys, and that with diligence I may be advertised of the king's grace my brother's pleasure; for while that I be in suretie of sike matiers as I have written, I trust the ambassadors shal not be sped, for my partakers thinkith that gif they labor for the pleasure of the king's grace my brother, that on his side he shuld shewe kyndnes to theym afore any Scottishman, after the king my sonne. Praying you, therefore, my lorde, to gyve good counsaile to the king's grace my brother, and to let me have answer incontinentlie, for the furthering of all matiers, and God have you in his kepyng. Written the 6th day of October, at Edynburgh."



No. IV.

Letter of MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTTS, to KING HENRY VIII.

"Dearest Brodyr the kyng, I com'end me unto yo'r grace; and ave rec'd by yo'r Herold Clarencieux, yo'r scharp and unkindlie w'ting to me y'r

syster, without any evill caus of my part, as God knows, and as all the world shall und'stand. And quhar deerest brudyr yo^r grace makes nerration of my said w^ting, sent to you, quhow that the duik of Albany, gov[']no^r of this realme, is come for the weale of the kyng my sone, and his realme, and for the m'tenaunce of peice betw^x yo^r said realme and this, as ye se I affirme, and desire you to accept his c'm'ng into this realme, and also to prolong the * * * * as forthir my w^t proports, ye haffing no litell * * * * nor no les grevans, to se me so gretlie abusyt be blind affecc'ons toward the said duke of Albany; and that I beleif that his ading is for the * * * * of the kinge my sone. And quhow ye se that it is manifestlie knowne that his said cu'ing is more for the da'ger and perill of my said son than for his sou'tie or s'rvice. And that ye haf it to und'stand, by d'v'rs rumours. And y^t ye luf and kyndnes that I wryt that the duke berrs to me is well knowne, redonding to my dishono^r, and the nobell hous that I am quene of. Also of the labor that I have maid unto the said duik for his cu'ing in Scotland, and so solic't, and procur, and divorce us, to the court of Rome, betwix me and th'erle of Angus, with the tend'nes that is betwix me and the said duke of Albany, intending to mary w^t hyme as he so is c'tified to y^u, out of d'vis realmes, and out of Rome. And the semster inform'acion maid to y^u of me ye ar sorye that the said informacion is so trew that all Crist'dom spekes of me, w^t mony othyr sharp & unkindlie words, no^t lik oon brudyr to his suyster. And, as to the prorogation of the peice, as long as the said duke is in Scotland ye will not grant the said peice, as ye haf declarit moir at length to the thre estates of Scotland, quhar ye haf givne me my part, no^t to yo^r hono^r, quhar into I may need anss^r for my hon^r quhilke ye think I estyme ry^t litell, as yo^r writing schews.

“As to the first point, that I did wryt in favor of the duke of Albany, gov[']nor of this realme, to y^r grace, desyring guid peace and concord betw^x your realme and this realme, and so haf takine the gud mynd and will of the said duk in that behalf, I culd have don na les for my part, consyders the

gud mynd that I fynde in hyme self, did w^t to you, as I understand it is yeit, and the falt be no^t in yo^r grace, and that ye will no^t take rason, bot * * * * ewil and fals narration & i'forma'n as at more lencht schewis y^r w^ting, * * * * is not to y^r hono^r, that ye being sa gret ane prince, and gevis sa litlytlie creden as ye schew be your said w^ting. And as, tuching myself, ye * * * * to my dishono^r, that I am ~~sore~~ abusyt with fair words of the duik of Albany, that thar thro^t I * * * * the weile and sou'te of the king my son, the quhilke is to me as all thing in this world, that I wald ever best & deerest to me, as salbe knowne to all christen princes, no^t the les ye put the co'trarie to me, quhilke is gretlie to my dishono^r. Also, yo^r grace might haf said bett' upon rason, ner ye haf w^tin of me, yo^r sister, considring that I haf laboryt that was in me at yo^r hand, for gud peice and concord betwix you & my son the king, yo^r nephew, and his realme. And soliscit the said duik, gov'nor of this realme, to be sic lik for his part, quhar in I find him ry^t welle myndyt, as I did writ; & offrit reht rasonable ~~terms~~ that might be for the weill of bouth the realmes; quhar for I culd do noe les for my part ner to schew the verite. And thro^t this I have go^t hye displess^r and indign'on; for the laboring of one guid and lofing waye betwix the two realmes, the quhilke I am adettit to do bouth befor God and the world, & not thro^t abusing of the said duik of Albany, nor favor that I haf to hyme, to my dishono^r, as ye sa & allegis, quhilke as two * * * * to me, the trewe is, that I luik no^t to the sov'te of the king my son, bot rat^r to his destruccion. And that I haf the ge'vno^r to my dishono^r, as my lord cardynale spak ex'ynlie in plain co'sall; quhar in I think it will not be to yo^r hono^r to suffyr suche fals and untrew report maid upon me yo^r suster. It had bene yo^r part, deerest brothyr, to haf ben my diffendo^r in all ewill raports, and not to haf alleg^t wranwislie dishono^r to me, quhilke sall prove of the sem fals & co'trarie. And quhar that yo^r grace allegis plainlie in yo^r w^ting, that my mynde is to mary the duke of Albanye, and desyr the divorce to that intent:

that was nev' in my inten', nor in his, as it will be well knowne; bot I knòw the fals i'formacon of the bychop of Du'keldin; no^t the les he sall not be the nerrer to his purpos; for I think nev' to tak part w^t thos that is contrary to the king my son, and his weill. For, deerest brothyr, me think of guid rason, & for yo^r owne hono^r, ye shuld haf p'fectlie knew the treuthe, and not groundyt y^m upon malice; to have maid manifest such many wrong & injurious raports to my dishono^r that is yo^r suster; for I put my trost in yo^r grace to haf ben my help & defendor, as ye shuld be of rason. And thro^t the favor that I trostit to haf had of yo^r grace towart this realme, for my saik, I belyft to haf ben the mair honoryt and weill intret'd't, and the bett' obeyt of my lofyng quhilke nowe thro^t the gryt unkyndnes that ye schow, be yo^r said w'ting, to this realme, and to the yong king my son, quhilke is not of age to rule his said realme hymself, in so far that ye will not be contentyt to tak peice with this said realme, the gov'nor abyding heir quhilke me think, deerest brothyr, richt strange & unkindlie, that for caus of ony othyr that ye suld mak war on the king my son, yo^r nephew, and his realme, considering that the gov'nor of this realme is contentyt to all reasonabill war, for the weill of my son and his realme, as Clarencieux can informe yo^r grace p'fytlye, as I trost he will, & ye will heyr hyme. And my part in this mater shalbe knowne to all cristine princes, & reasonabill desyre and w'tinge, that I haf w'tine to yo^r grace, quhar of I haf the coppis to schow, and of rason I haf maid y^m no caus of displesh^t, nor shall no^t in my default, as God knows.

"Also, quhar yo^r grace is so hevelye displesyt w^t me, for my laboring for the bringing of the duik of Albany in Scotland, derrest brodyr, I trostyt fermlie, of guid rason, that it shuld no^t haf ben disples^t to yow in any thing that micht be guid for the king my son, and put his realme to guid reule, as I beleif his mynd is to do. And did I und'stand othyrwise in hyme, I wold nev' haf desyryt the coming of hym in this realme. And, as yeit he has schewne na oy^r. And I suld be mor soner informed in this nor othyr, that

informing yo^r grace, not of the verite. And, as to myn entreting in this realme, I haf oftyn tymes adv'tyst yo^r grace, trosting to haf gottine remedie; bot I got it not; quhar for I was contreynt to mak me frends thro^t my guid bering towart my lord gov'nor of Scotland, quhar in I haf founde mair kyndnes ner I haf in eny othyr in thyr p'tes; suppose that yo^r grace be displeyt y^t I sa this, I may sa as I fynd caus to sai; and give I did fynd the contrarye I shuld sa it; bot yo^r grace may do to me, yo^r suster, as ye ples; bot I sall make no ewill caus; bot it drys me gryt displesh^r in my hart yo^r unkyndnes. And, as to the soner keping of the kyng's my sonn his parson, Clarencieux yo^r herauld can informe yo^r grace of the verite, quhilke is contrarye to the informac'on that is maid on to yo^w, for the king my son is in na oy^r keping of his parson, bot as he has bene owyr sen he was out of my kepyng, quhilke is wicht as guid & trew lord, as ony is within the realme; and be the adwys' of all the lords, quhilke I wait weill wald, that he war best of any thing in this world. And, for my part, God and the world will know the verite of the untrew report that is made of me. And, of yo^r part, derrest brod^r, me think that ye hald me not an woman of hono^r, nor trewth, as yo^r w'ting here, gif I shud not lwf the weill of the king my son, abouis all thing, quhar in to I think that all my weill stands. And that I wold overluik the sa'myn for plesh^r of ony in this world, quhar for I think this alleging richt *e by to me. And I haf not kept sic any part to my son, as sa for I haf the lik gret trobell & disples^r for his saik and weill, quhilke I nedyt not to haf had, and I had had so litell regard for his weill.

“Also, quhar yo^r grace says that ye wold the guid of the king my son, yo^r nephew, as I trost ye wold, quhow ma yo^r grace haf mye pryte of hym, nor yet ye may haf yo^r rasonable desyre for the semy', or any thing that ma be to yo^r grace's ples^r and hono^r; be the said duik gov'nor of this realme, quhilke I wot weill stands of guid mynd towart the s*, quhar for derrest I beseeche y^w, as I yo^r humble suster, to luk weill and discreetlie upon thes

maters, bouthe for the ples^r of God and yo^r owne hono^r; and refus not rason-
abill wais; for y^e doand the co'trary, it wilbe tho^t amung all cristen princ's,
supos ye wryt nev' so weill, that ye dessir the distrucion of my son, and his
realme, and tharupon makys ane wrongwis querell, and unjustlye fundyt,
quhilke I wot weill not cu' of yo^r grac's mynd, bot thro^t ewill counseill.
And, as to the part of this realme, I know p'fectlie tha desir peice and con-
cord w^t yo^r realme, sa y^t thay ma haf it w^t thar hono^r, as I trust tha haf
w'tine plainly thar mynd to yo^r grace. And, to yo^r desyr to haf the gov'no^r
furthr of this realme, consid'd'ing that tha the guid part that he kepes to
the king my son, and his realme, tha will not condescend nor consent to the
samy'; for tha think it not rasonabill for the weill of the king my son, nor
hys realme, for meny * * * that ma follow tharupon.

"Derrest Brodyr, I beseeche yo^r grace to haf me p'dent give I haf w'tine
scharplie to y^e, for I most neds schow yo^r grace the verite. And it stands
me bothe on my honour, & for the weill of me & my son, & his realme;
tharfor I besiche yo^r grace ryt humblie, that ye will luk well upon theyr
forsayd, & consid'd' the somyn. And that yo^r grace will send me yo^r guid
and gracious answer. And that yo^r grace will no^t do now postpone and guid
answere. I haf send div's tymes to yo^r grace, and I gat na answer. And
quhe' I gat eny it was richt scharp & unkyndlie, quhilke I think ry^t hevy,
considding that I haf non to gif me co'sola'n nor co'fort bot yo^r grace. And
forby^r it will pleis yo^r grace to give c'den to yo^r amb^r and herauld Claren-
cieux, for I haf schewne hyme my mynde. And also he und'stands the in-
tencion and will of this realme. And God co'tyne yo^r grace, in guid will
and prosperitie. W'tine of Edynburgh, this xiith day of Faburare:

Your humble syster,

MARGARET R.

"To the excellent ry^t hie and mythy prince, and
our derrest brodyr, ye king of Inghland, rex."

No. V.

"The Copie of my LORD CARDINALL'S L'res, sent to the LORD DACRE of the Northe.

"After right affectuous recommendations, my lorde, though I have receyved no l'res from you sens myne arryvall on this side the see; ne yet, as I am informed, ye have not advertised the kyng's highnes eyther of the state of his bord'os or of the demeann' of the Scotts, sens my departyng oute of England; yet the king's highnes hath now of late signified unto me, that credible reaporte is made unto hym howe the Scotts have not onely made dyv'se & many exc'sis in North'mb'land, by brennyng certeyn villagis, takyng sundry p'soners; and dryvyng awaye moche cattell and shipe, but also that great preparacon is made in Scotland for the comyng of the duke of Albany thider; and rememberyng yo' olde accustomable proudent demeano' as well in the atteyning assuird knowledge of the intended purpose of the Scotts, from tyme to tyme, by suche good esp'iell and intelligence that ye have had amongs the said Scotts, as of the bruits and newes occ'rant amongs theym, it is the more mervailed, that if eyther any such attemptats have been made by the said Scotts upon the king's subjects, or that any such bruits be in Scotland of the said duke's thider comyng, that ye have not advertised the king's highnes or me therof before this tyme; wherfor I thought ryght expedient, not onely to put you in remembraunce therof, so that ye may w^t all diligence advertise me howe every thing hath proceeded there duryng myne absence oute of the realme; to the intent I may at my comyng to the king's presence, which, God willing, I shalbe w^t in brief tyme, ascertyne his highnes therin, wherof to here his grace is moche desirous, but also to notifie unto you what I have herde of the transportyng of the said duke of Albany into Scotland, w^t myne advise & counsaile what is expedient & necessary to do, upon the same; trowthe it is that credibler eaporte hath

been made unto me nowe of late, that the said duke is not onely passed, or shall shortely passe oute of Fraunce into Scotland, w^t the nombre of two or thre thousand men of warre, but also hath made great & instant labo^r in the courte of Rome, for a divorce to be had and made for seperacion of the mariage betwixt the quene of scotts and therle of Anguisshe, intending to marye w^t the said quene, wherunto it is said she is agreable, and that the same duke intendeth to aspir' to the crowne of Scotlande; whiche he cannot attayne unlesse he destroye the yong king, and if th' p'misses be of trouth, as by many co'jectures it is in great apparence, right necessary it is, that ye not onely make diligent espiell in Scotland, for assurd knowledge to be had of the p'misses, but also notifie the same to therle of Anguisshe, the Humes, and such others as by the comyng of the said duke into Scotland shalbe put in danger of their lyves and lands, so that they may make their p'tie good and puissant to stoppe and lette the damnable & abhominable purpose of the said duke. It is verely thought, that in case the said detestable intende & mynde of the said duke were published in Scotland it shulde provoke the nobles & comons agenste hym, wherby he mought be put in danger at his first comyng; and to the intent the said bruite may be made in Scotland upon true grounds, I ascerteyne you for a trouth, that the french kyng nowe of late shewed unto th'erle of Worcest'r, the kyng's chamburlayn, and the bishop of Ely, that the said duke, not onely intendeth, in coverte man' to passe into Scotland, but also hath labored to purchase the said divorce for mareing the quene, suspectyng therby the danger of the said yong kyng. And albeit the said duke could not departe oute of Fraunce w^toute the p'mission & sufferance of the french kyng, yet it is in appearance that he dissemblith ther'in. I am also adv'tised, by the kyng's orato^r, from the courte of Rome, that the same divorce is instantly pursued by the duke of Albany ther—in consideration wherof ye have good and probable grounds to instructe as well the said erle of Anguisshe as the Homes, and other nobles

of Scotland, suche as ye shall thinke good, that this is the onely purpose of the same duke's comyng into Scotland. And that he bringeth his men of warre with hym, not for the defence of that land, but onely to distroy the said erle, and other nobles, that wolde resist and lette hym in th'achyvyng of this his damnable mynde & enterp'se, whiche he knoweth well can nev' be brought to passe, onlesse the said erle and his adherents be subdued. Wherefor ye may p'suade unto the said erle, the Homes, and others, that if they tender the salvegard of their p'nce, if they love their lyves, lands, & succession, they must w^t all diligence possible, like valiant and noble men, put themselves in a readynes, w^t all their friends strength & puissance, to p'serve theymself & subdue their mortal enemye; for surely, if they loke not substancially therunto, both the yong kyng, they, and all the nobilite of Scotland, shal be in greate danger. And ye may say, that, inasmoche as the kyng of scotts, beyng the kyng's nevewe, shall by suche practises peryshe, and his sister the quene be dishonored and lost therby for ever, ye doubte not but his highnes in this their laudable & vertuous querell woll favo^r, aide, and assiste, theym, encouragyng theym w^t such good words, vehement bruits, & co'fortable p'suasion, to stire and excite, not onely theym, but also the nobles and comons of Scotland, ageynst the said duke, wherby either he shalbe in danger at his comyng to Scotland, or els be exterminate from thens for ev'. And if the some of x or xii m marks were politiquely spent, to set this division in Scotland, and to provoke the indignation of the nobles and subjects agenst the said duke, in myne opynion it shulde be well employed, consederyng the greate effects and good consequent that therof may ensue, wherby greate somes of money may therby be saved, as ye wel know: the p'misses considered, I right hartely desire & pray you, after your accustomed prudent & politique man', not onely to set furth theis practises w^t all spedie diligence, but also to adv'tise me w^t semblable diligence what ye shall and may do therin, wherby ye do m'vailous greate pleasure and s'vice

to the kyng's highness, moch redoundyng to his hono^r and the suretie of his realme, assuryng you, that whatsoever ye shall promyse, lay oute, or coven'nte, w^t the said nobles, kepyng yo^rself w^tin the bonds of the said somes, till ye may adv'tise me of your said further advise, it shalbe surely contented and paid unto you, requiryng you to do effectual diligence therein.

No. VI.

Extract of a Letter to CARDINAL WOLSEY, relative to the Payment of Sums of Money at the Scottish Court.

"Pleaseth yo^r good grace ffurth^r to be advetsyd of themploy, eswell of dyv'se other somes of money that hathe ben payd in thes p'tes s'th the last tyme I acerteyned yo^r grace by you le'r, as of those somes, by vertue of my lord leuten'nt warrants; viz. first to the kinge of scotts, * * * to the quen grace his moder, * * * to therle of Arrannd, * * * to the lord Lenux; * * * to the * * of Kylmaurus; * * to Adam Otterbo'n, on' of the comysioners of Scotland * * * to dyv'se other scottishmen in reward * * * to the * * * of North'mberland, in reward for thataching of * * * to therle of Cassells one of thambassado's appoynted to be sent from the king of scotts, unto the king's grace in prest * * * to the said quen of scotts for two moneths wage of the garrison appoynted abowtts the kinge of scotts * * * to my said lord leutennt * * * aven dyetts, after the rat of * * * by the day for lx * * * to George Lawsson, in prest, for the wage * * * vitelling of the king's shippes; * * * to Aungellus Icallyon, for his wage, x lb. w^t dyv'se other small somes * * as for the wages of the herald the pa'vaunt. And my own wage, w^t expences of caryagez, amounting, w^t all the aforsaid, to the some of * * * & odd money. And * * * remayneth in my hands as yett in redy money, * * * which remayne I suppose shall be more for my lo d * * * to sale here certeyne pryse wares which was taken in hulke

and other o^r scottysh shippes, by Paxforth, capit of the * * * * barke as flexi & clapholt. And the money there he intendeth to comyt unto my handds. And also other money that ys in Will^m Pawne sonnez hands at * * * * yf y^t cane be gotton; wherof I shall adv^tese y^r grace as y^t cometh to my hands, w^t the grace of Almyghty God, unto whom I shall dayly pray for the noble p^sperry^s & yo^r gracios estate, from Newcastle opon Tynne, the ij^d day of Octobr, w^t the rude and symple handde of yo^r humble and pore s^unt, during his lyff.

ROB^T LORDE.

“Further to adv^tese y^r grace that all suche somez of money as was payd unto the king of Scotts, the quen grace his mother, therle of Arraund, the lord Lenux, as of Kelmawres, and the two moneths wage of the garryson aboutts the said kyng, was payd in crownez of the some, after the rate of fyve shillings the pece, wheryn ys saved xiiijp. in ev^{ry} cr^e, which amounteth to the sum of * * *, as doth appear in my charge.”

No. VII.

ROBERT SHAW, ABBOT OF PAISLEY, to CARDINAL WOLSEY, for promotion.

From the Cottonian Library.

“My lord, In my most h^mull man^r I recom^{end} my rytth lawly servie to yo^r grace, certifying th^e sa[’] y^t y^e king’s hienes, yo^r soveine, ambassadour, being in ye court of Rome, has, at ye instance and request of y^r grace, solicit y^e popes holines for my promotion to y^e bischoprik of Murray, according to my hum^{ll} prayer maid to yo^r grace befor w^t y^e * * *, becaus y^t y^e king’s hienes, my mast, hes wr^{tyne} for y^e p[’]motione of a sone of y^e e[’]rl of Arrane, to my abbasy of Paslay, he being of ten[’] age, and bastard, o^r holy fat^r y^e pope, in c[’]sidar[’]ione of ye p[’]miss, deferres p[’]motau off me to ye said bischoprik; quhobeyt yas impediments rise on ye p[’]t of ye said erl’s sone,

awcht not be rason' to differ my caus, ther'for it will pleis yo' grace ded'ine to writ to ye said ambassador, bein w^t our said holy fa', for expeditione of my mat', lattyng y^e vy' p'motion stand suspens quhilest wot y^t bet' ways be laborit. And fary^r gyf saufconduct to my b^r to' for avating upone my said besines, and gyf hym levys to pas in Flanders, to y^t effect, assuring y^r grace, y^t in safar as my pur powar may extend, I sall no^t faile to be aver faytfull & trew servand to y^e king's hienes yo' sov'ane, & yo' grace, above all oys, next my sov'ane and mast', as of just caus I am.

"To do like as maist^r Magnus your troust servant can shew. P'ying God to p'serff yo' grace in prosperite. At Edinburgh, ye viij day of Maii, be yo' grace hum^{bl} serv^t & orator, at his extreme power.

RRO ABBOT OF PASLAY.

No. VIII.

The EARL OF ARGYLE to CARDINAL WOLSEY, soliciting the Cardinal's interest to get the abbey of Cowper for his brother.

From the Cottonian Library.

"My lord, I commend me in my moist hartie and effectu'il maner unto your guid graice * * * * ples it to wit yat the king's graice, my soverane, has wrytten to the pope's holines, and to y^e kingis heines of Ingland, for promotioun of ane brother of myne to the abbaci of Coupere w^tin this realme; and I have writtin in elikwiss to his graice, in moist lawly and humble maner * * * * for my lord; and, because I hope in God, that for the luif and myte sall int * * * betwixt the king's heines, your maister and myn, and amongst the subjects of boithe yere realma, I wold be so bold, yat I wold writt homlie to your graice.

"I beseih to forther ye promotionne of my said brother, in the best maner as your graice thinks expedient; and it wold pleis ye samy to freich and

pun' * * * * of myn, callit Dougall Campbell. And my lord geif that their be any service or labore that I cane do your graice in this realme, *truly* thar shalbe nane in it, yat sall accomplis ye samy, w^t bettir hart nor mynd nor I sall. And further, I have schawin my mynd at lynth to your graice's richt troust and wise * * * * maister Thomas Magnus * * * * to. I pray your graice to gif ferme credens in all that he schall schawe your graice * fully in my behalf. And God Almychty have your graice in his blessed keeping. W'tin, &c. Edinburgh, the xxvii day of Maii.

Yours, WIL' OF ARGYLE.

No. IX.

GAWIN DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF DUNKELD, to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

From the Cottonian Library, Caligula, B. VI. No. 147.

Orthography altered to modern Scotch by J. G.

[I publish this spirited letter of a celebrated poet, in contrast with the base applications of other Scotchmen.]

“ Please your grace, my chaplain, whilk was yesterday at your presence, shews me, that Galt, the secretary of the duke of Albany, has said to your grace, that I promist not to come within this realm; and wherefore, of his master's behalf, beséacht your grace to withhold me herein, and let me pass no farther. My lord, I believe your high wisdom will not give credence so lightly against me; and specialie to the duke of Albany, or any of his servands, whilk is capital and deadly enemy to me and all my house. And, therefore, it is no wonder albeit he say sik things for my harm, whilk divers times, and yet daily, hath said and done all that he may or can imagine to my destruction, and extermination of all my kin. And, as I shall answer to God and your grace, the contrare of it he said, is plain writ; for,

both by messenger and writin, I declarit how plainlie I would pass through this realm, and no other way; and gart shew him what day I had appointed to enter in your ground of England; the whilk I kept trulie. And this your grace may consider what favour he has to me, or how I should be entreated, if I was in Scotland, under his subjection; or when, if I past to France, or any other part where he may solicit any thing, when he is so bold within this realm (wherein I trust he has little credence), as for to solicit your grace to my hurt. Albeit you have grantit me, the king's highness, safe conduct, the which, I trust, I shall not forfeit, nor yet your grace will suffer to be taken from me. Beside this the matter is precious, if any kirkman should be stoppet gangand to Rome, for his lawful defence on summon thither, as, nevertheless, your grace knows full well, I may be lightly entretit to remain here, but no ways at his command nor desire; and full well I wat your high wisdom *knows* what is to be done on any service to sik a pretention mickle better nor I, and many sik, can imagine. Albeit, if it might stand with your pleasure, I would bespeak your grace to answer to this Galt; that, if the duke, his master, will be content my action and matter be remetit forth from Rome, to your grace, and before your arbitration, whereof I would be glad, your grace should cause me remain? and also, why or how should you hold me frae my lawful defence, whilk is of the law of nature; specialie I having the king's safeconduct to pass, as said is? This is my little case, under correction of your grace, whom I beseach to pardon this my so homely writing; and the Holy Trinitie have your grace in lessit and * * * * keeping. At London, this new year's day, subcrevit with the hand of

Your humble beedsman,

GAWN OF DUNKELD."

No. X.

CARDINAL WOLSEY to the KING'S AMBASSADORS IN SCOTLAND.

“ Master Magnus and master Ratclif, I com'ende me unto you in my right herty maner. Sens your arrival in the court of Scotland I receyved sundry yo^r l^res, to me addressed; wherof the last bereth the date at Edinburgh, the xth day of this instant moneth; wherein ye have ful substantially declared, as wel the state and disposicion in the whiche ye finde the affaires and state of Scotlande, as also the substance of such things as ye folowing the tenor of yo^r instruccions and l^res sent unto you have done, w^t the quene, lords, and others of Scotlande, sens yo^r comyng into those p^ties.

“ And, for asmoche as unto all mat^l points conteyned in your said l^res, except the last, and such l^res and copies as the duke of Norfolk sent w^t the same answer, hath been made to the said duke, as the case hathe req^red; though things divised here to be w^ten by him, to you and other, have ben altered, changed, and not executed as hath ben comanded. I shal, therefore, nowe make answer unto yo^r said last l^res, copies, and w^tings, the effects wherof consisteth principally in these things following.

“ First, albeit the quene of Scotts persisteth in her wilfulnes against her husband, the erle of Angwish; yet, nev^theles, it semeth, she and the lords of Scotlande be determyned, that ambassadors shal be sent, w^t diligence, unto the king's highnes; and that the quene, upon yo^r good exhortacⁱons, sheweth herself conformable to take sadde and wise counsaillors aboute her, by consent of the lords of the p^lliament.

“ Secondly, that the archbishop of Saint Andrewes maketh outward demonstracion to be veray well inclyned unto the amyte of England, shewing some towardnes that he coude be contente to come in the ambassiate. Howbeit divers p^sones have informed you he wold change and vary.

“Thirdly, that the said quene and lords woulde not the erle of Angwishe shulde be at the parliamt, but have made an overture of his retor’ne to Berwike, and demure there during the same; and there the reconsiliacon of hym to the quene, and agrement w^t the’rle of Arayn, to be treated.

“Fourthely, the quene’s desire for continuance of the * * men in wage, with increase of one hundred more, to the whiche quene ye have delivered *, to intending also to pay the wage of the said * * men, if it be sent unto you; feering lest, if ye shulde not do so, it myght be a mean to stoppe the comyng of ambassadors.

“Sixthely, that, for the same doubte and feare, ye respited, and wolde be well avised, before ye delivered to the lords of Scotland, the king’s l’res lately sent unto them, or to the quene, such l’res as the duke of Norfolk then wrote unto her. And, finally, the strange dealing of the said quene and lords, not being contented that ye shal moche lenger reside and demore there, as in your said l’res and w’tings is mentioned more at large.

“As hereunto the king’s highnes, who hathe herde and understanden the contents of all yo^r said l’res and w’tings, giveth unto you ful good thanks, for yo^r discrete and diligent acquittal, used in the charge to you comitted, ascertynyng you, that when his grace, I, and other of his counsail, have, by mature deliberation, wel pondred and considred the said seven material poynts, we find that the same, w^t all the residue of these matiers and affaires of Scotlande, consisteth upon one of the ij things following, whereupon, all the residue must depend; that is to say, whither the quene and lords of Scotlande, pe’cyvyng and knowing how the king’s highnes p’cedeth w^t them, be of mynde and inclynacion to trayn their king and themselves unto the amytie of England, intending to establish a p’fcte confidence and entier love betwene the both prynces and their realmes, being glad so to do, for their owne ease, weale, suretie, and p’fite; or ells whither contynueing in thair former jalousie and suspicion of the king’s grace and this realme, w^t

sen'ge and contr'ious mynds, from any good concorde or unite, to be conduced and brought aboute, they wolde rather adhere unto France, traynyng thair king to the devocion therof, so to depende upon the lyne of the french king, as of hym in whom they wol have their most assured and speciall trust and confidence, using the king's highnes and this realme as though his grace shulde be glad to seke for their amytie, or had any nede or necessite therof, and not to accept and take the benevolence and bounteous goodness of his grace to p'cide of the good will and entier affeccion that his highnes bereth to his derrest nephewe and sister the king and quene of Scotts, as it dothe, recognizing and knowledging themselves highly obliged and bounden unto his grace therefore, and using themselves w^t mutual correspondence of al kyndnes as to reason and congruence doth ap'teyn. These be the things whiche ar first and principally to be noted, being more material then either sending ambass^{es}, pacification of p'ticular quarrels and displeasures, enter-teynment of gardes, and other like things, whiche must depende herupon. And, therefore, in yo^r doings and pr'cedings there, thoughe sending of ambassadors is an apparence of further towardnes, yet lakking a determynacion in Scotland to seke and desire to live in ferme peax and amytie w^t this realme, it is not the comyng of ambassad'rs, w^t holowe and strange mynds and intencions, that shal p'ncipally conferre unto this besynes; veraily the king's highnes p'ceyving by your l'res that the quene of Scotts, notwithstanding her wilfulnes in not folowing as yet the king's good advice towards her hus-bande, is mynnded nevertheles to avaunce the sending of ambassado's; thinketh, that if their setting forthe be in apparent towardnes, as by yo^r said l'res it semeth to be, the same is not nowe by any sharpe dealing or demon-stracion to be empeched or hindred; but that the said quene and lords, hav-ing intencion and mynde, by such depeche of ambassado's, to procure the good of peax, should rather in their so doing be comforted, and the more kyndely and favorably to be entreated and handled. Semblably, inasmoche

as the archbishop of Saint Andrewes sheweth himself outwardly right loving and conformable to further this amytie, and hath right good and secreete conferences w^t you towching the same, he is to be enterteyned w^t the best words and manier, and is to be accepted as ye w^{te}, according to his demonstrations and surety. If he could be reasonably induced to come in the ambassiate hymself, it is not to be doubted but that, by meane of his grete wisdom and experience, the matiers shoulde take moche the better effect; for whiche p^opose I have w^{ten} a good lett^r unto hym at this tyme, like as by the copie thereof; whiche, w^t the original, to be delyver'd unto hym, I send you herew^t, ye shal p^oceyve more at large. And the said copie shalbe a sufficient instruccion unto you howe ye may, as of yourself, secretly and frendely exhorte and avise hym so to do, putting hym in comforte, that as grete honour and profite is like to ensue unto hym thereof, and p^oadventure gretter, then ever had any archbishop in Scotland. Besides this, the quene of Scotts, proceeding lovingly and kindly w^t the king's grace in all other her doings, it is not the matier most material at this tyme, whither she w^{ll} yet accepte the erle of Angwishe to her favor or not. Ne, it wer wisdom that the king's grace, nowe that he hathe suffred hym to entre in to his contrey, whiche his highnes had none honourable colour to denye hym, shulde so stik unto the companyng of the differents betwene the quene, th'erle of Arayn, and hym, that it shulde seme to be a mater that the king's grace wolde p^oferre or anyxt with the affaires and causes of the realme.

“Howbeit somewhat it is to be m^oveiled for what ground or occasion he shulde be inhibited to come unto the p^oliament, considering that he is oon of the chief noblemen of that realme, and a true subget unto his p^once, onles the lords of Scotlande, not bering unto hym, as it appereth, so moche favo^r and good wil as by many and many l^ores sent hither from the bordres hathe ben mencioned, wolde mynde in the said p^oliament to passe som thing at the quenes request whiche shalbe to his extreme p^ojudice and d^ot^oiment; for,

for, sens his comyng into Scotlande, there hathe not yet hitherto, as ferre as is knowen here, ben shewed any co'p'bacon that he is so wel beloved, or hathe suche a p'tie in that realme as hathe ben reaported, but rather, it is to be thought, that the lords who cannot suffer any grete p'emynence or sup'iorite to be in oon of theymselves above the other, doubte, that he, being husbände unto the quene, whom for that she is a grete princesse, they coude suffre to have the shadowe or visage of government, shulde, after his reconciliation unto her fav^r, rule al the residue; and for that cause veray like it is that this divorce hathe p'ceded for traynyng of hym unto her will, til suche tyme as the p'liament myght be fynished, and he neither p'vey to their drifts & co'passes, ne pressent to w'tstande suche things as myght sounde to his derogac'on or hinderance, whiche thing were ferre discrepant from hono^r and reason. And rygt lothe wolde the king's highnes be to see nor knowe suche effecte to be brought to passe, he being by the kyng's lieutenant avised and desired to repaire unto Berwike, wherin on thing is specially to be noted: the said quene allegeth that it is moche against her hono^r that th'erle of Angwishe shulde thus be sent into Scotlande w'toute her consent and agreement; but she nothing regardeth howe moche it shulde sounde to the king's dishonour either to have deteyned hym any lenger here, having non occasion so to doo; or nowe to allure hym unto Berwike, as though his grace were constrayned to kepe hym oute of Scotlande, til the said quene's pleasure were determyned. And if any notable thing shuld be done against hym duering his abode in Berwike, then shulde it also moche more touche the king's honour. Wherefore his grace, and other of his counsail, do not a litle m'veile that either my lord of Norfolke, or you, wulde consent to such overture, or w'te therein to the said erle, onles ye mygt first have had som evident apparance upon what grounde the same shulde have ben don, and have wel knowen that it must be for some grete or good effect. But if ye may p'ceive the quene and the lords so to p'cede w't you that the king's hono^r

be not herin touched, and the matiers to be in trayn, according to the king's mynde and desire; then, though the said erle wer absent from the p'liament, so his p'sence ther shulde do hurte, neither to thassemblie of the lords or sending of ambassad'rs, it is not the thing whiche the king's grace wulde ye shulde stik in.

"And likewise the * * that ye have geven unto the quene, and the payment of the * * men for oon moneth, if it be don alredy, may be suffred; ye fynding the quene and lords in suche good disposicion as is aforsaid.

"As to deliverye of the king's l'res to the lords, it is not to be a litle m'veiled that ye wolde respite or differre the doing therof, considering that the matier therein conteyned is thankful and acceptable, and nothing in the same l'res mencioned whiche soundeth to the said quene's dispraise or dishonor, but rather for the preservacion of the same; assuring you, that these l'res were devised not w'oute mature deliberacion of sadde counsail, knowing that if, upon p'ticler disple'sur, there shulde be surmyse made to the lords of Scotlande of any unreasonable demaunde required by the king's highnes, the said l'res shulde be a sufficient declaracion unto them, wherby they mygt know the king's good meanyng and intent; but when things be devised here for conducyng of the king's matiers, and the same by som shal be chaunged and altred to their device and fantasie, and by other p'termytted, and not delyv'ed, or not put in execucion, according to the comaundement geven in that behalf, it is no m'veile though the matiers many tymes perishe have adverse successe, the experience wherof p'tely may appere in the delivery of my l're unto the archbishop of Saint Andrewes, whiche moche confermed hym in his devocion towards the king's grace; whereas, if that and al other had been delivered in tyme, and all instruccions followed with such sentences, clauses, and manner, as they were here cowched, it is not to be doubted but better effect would have ensued therof; and therefore the king's said l'res be not yet delivered, there is no cause whye ye shulde not, w'oute further tracte of tyme, do the same, considering that they shal

rather avaunce the comyng of the ambassado's, and conferre the lords in the king's devocion, then otherwise.

"So as for this p'te, ye do p'ceyve that, fynding the quene and lords in suche good mynde and towardnes, as is aforesaid, and the ambassadors determyned to be sent w'tout further tract or delay, it wer not convenyent to depeche or disturbe the same, but rather to avaunce it w't as good and convenient wayes w'toute rate or desiring them therunto, as ye can devise.

"On the other p'te, it is to be considred what hathe, at and sens your dep'ture from hens, ben notified to the duke of Norfolke and you, by instruccions, l'res, and otherwise, towching the plan, forme, and manier of the king's entent and meanyng in these matiers of Scotlande, not being grounded upon other thing, but only upon the benevolent and loving mynde that the king's grace bereth unto his said dearest nephew and suster, for the p'ximitie of bloode and possibilitie of succession that the said yong king is in to the king's highnes, and the other good v'tues and qualities reported to be in his p'son; as ye have ben largely adv'ised of the king's mynde in that behalfe, whiche, by you wel pondered and regarded, ye may finally p'ceyve that, when the quene of Scotts, and lords of that land, shall make strange and highe demonstracions unto you, in their doings, w'toute due respect had unto the king's gratuite and kyndenes, but rather use themself as though the king's highnes were fayne to seke upon theym for amytie and frendship, the more ye shewe y'rself inclynable to their demaunds and requests, and the more they shal p'ceyve you to insist for their good wills, the prouder and more arrogant they shalbe; and, therefore, in this case, it were not convenient that, for sending of their ambassado's, whiche shalbe moste to the p'fite and suretie, ye shulde to moche folowe the quene's mynde and desire, or forbere plainely and roundely to open and declare unto her suche things as ye have in comaundement to do; for by that meanes she shal perceyve that only for the weale of her son and of her, the king's grace dothe shewe him-

self thus benevolent unto them, and not for any thing that his grace lekeeth to wyinne therby, or to lose by the contrary; whereas, if the playnnes be not declared unto her, she shal thinke that the king's highnes dare not ne wol do any thing against her mynde, but fulfil al her demaunds and desires, be they reasonable or not, and so she shal remayne in overmoche estymacion and outcredence of herself, refusing to condescend unto suche things as may be most to the hono^r, weale, and suretie of her and her said son, whiche p^{re}case she wol like more substantially unto, if her ingrate, unkinde, and indiscrete demeano^r, be in convenient maner declared unto her. Wherin I lately wrote unto my lorde of Norfolke the king's pleasure to be signified unto her, as it was covehed in my l^{re}s; howebelt bothe he altered and changed the same l^{re}s from the fashion that it was in; and yet the l^{re}s which he sent, ye forbere to delyver, as though the comyng of the ambassado's shulde be a thinge highly to the king's benefite, and the retardement of them, in the said quene's default, shulde sounde to the king's extreme hindrance or disadvantage, which was never meant or thought on this side; or that the quene and lords of Scotlande, having such fantasie imputed in their mynde, shulde be procured, solicited, or p^{ro}voked on the king's behalf thereunto. And onles ye have founde them of other mynde then thys, the king's highnes doth not a litle m^{is}veile, that either ye wold dely'r unto the quene on grote of money, or be of the opynyon that the wage of the * * * men shulde be paid or avaunced for the said quene's pleasure, or at her nominac'on or desire, considering that, by meanes of the same, she may, if she do not intende and mynde to folowe the king's wayes, make herselfe and p^{ar}te stronge, bothe against th' erle of Angwishe and al other that shulde be averse to the french faccion and pleasure; and, therefore, if ye have not alredy made payment for the said * * men, it shall be wisdom ye be not over hasty in the doing therof; specially, w^{it}oute ye see the quene in such good trayn, that

the said payment may gretely conferre to the furtherance of the king's intent, and do no damage or empechement to the same.

“ Finally, wheras there hathe ben mocion made unto you by the quene, by consent and desire of the lords, as she sayth, that ye shuld dep'te and retorne home, wherin ye have opteyned respite til the comyng of the said ambassado's, it is thought veray strange that ye, who have bene sent thider w^t such p'sents, and for demonstracion of gratuite and kyndenes, shulde be so intreated; wherby there is grete apparance that neither the quene ne the lords, that make mocion of your dep'ture, bere any grete favo^r towards the king's grace, but that they have you in suspicion and jalousie, not willing that ye shulde be p'vie of their doings and p'ceedings, unto whiche matier good regarde wolde be had, for many respects and causes. And if, by good and politique ways, w^toute grete p'rsute or instance to be made, ye coude fynde the meanes that, w^t their good contentacion, ye mygt remaine there for a longer season; saying that, when the ambassado's shalbe arrived, there may insurge and happen som things wherin it shalbe requisite and necessarye playnely to explaine unto the said quene and lords the king's intente and meaning by mowthe, better then can be don by letters of thair ambassadors, or by any the king's l'res unto the said quene and lords; it is thought yo^r p'sence and dem'ore there for a season shulde do grete good; and, therefore, ye shal, by goyd dexterite, fynde the meanes so to do, if conveniently and honorably, w^toute shewing any grete desire or fervent on yo^r side therunto, ye can bring it to passe: but if ye shal p'ceyve that they wol be moche co'trarius from it, making grete difficulty in the same, then the king's highnes is contented that, after the comyng of the said ambassadors into England, ye shal take yo^r leve and dep'te at yo^r pleas^r, wherof I doubte not but ye wol adv'tise me before that tyme, so that I may instruct you of the king's mynde and pleas^r howe ye shal ordre y'self w^t the quene and other

at yo^r dep'ture after, as it shalbe seen, that the said quene and lords shal p'cede, and as the case and matiers then shal require."

No. XIII.

THOMAS MAGNUS to CARDINAL WOLSEY, on Scottish affairs.

"Please it your grace to be advertysed that sethen^e my laste writing unto your said grace, of the xxij daye of the laste moneth, here have bene soe many contrarities, nowe oon waye and nowe an other, that therfore, to this present tyme, I have not oonly not had any matier of certainty to write unto yo^r grace, but also I have bene troubled and combred in my mynde, in such wise as I never was afore, by occasion that I have not founden the counsaile here soe clerely mynded for peace and amyte towards Englande as I supposed I shulde have doon; howbeit, as every thing procedeth here, your saide grace shall conceive by these presents.

"The next daye after the date of my last l^res. sent unto yo^r saide grace, the king, and the quene's grace, here came frome oute of the castell to the p'liament, and soe departed and went to the abbay of holy Roodehouse, the erle of Angwyshe bering the crowne, the erle of Arren the sceptre, and therle of Argile the sworde, and soe after oone w^t another fell in further favor and good famylharite, and by meanes of ffrendes w^t litle sute, the said erles of Angwyshe and Arren were right well accoorded and agreed, in such wise and mann' as I suppoos they woll not breke agene. Albeit the quene's grace be not gretely pleased therewith.

"After this, by act of p'liament, and by consent of the three estats of this realme, there were chosen th'archbishop of Saint Andrewes, th'archbishop of Glasco, the bishop of Aburdyn, and the bishop of Doublon, of the spiritu-
alty; and the erles of Angwyshe, Arren, Argile, and Leneux, of the tempo-

rality, the quene's grace being furste and principall, to have the hool rule and gov'nance of the king's p'son, and of this his realme, besides special comodities and autorite graunted to the quene's said grace, mencionned and specified by copy of the articles of the Concorde and Agreement which, w^t my last l'res, I sent unto y^r said grace:

"This foorsaide matier, with other had in comyunycac'on and putte in order, the lordes required th'erle of Casselles to declare his credence and instrucc'ons directe unto hym, by his collegs the ambassadors of this realme resident in Einglande, and appointed a tyme for the same, and forthwith sent for me. Howebeit, afore my comyng, the said erle had purposed all his mynde, in the presence of the king's grace, the quene's grace, and of all the lords and noblemen; wherfore, doubting what matier my said lord of Casselles had mynystred in my'n absence, I had in redynes a breve of my'n instruccons touching the hool circumstances concernyng the demaunds and requests of the ambassa'dos at thair furste comyng and repairing to the king's highnes and your grace w^t the aunsuers to the same, and the ord^r devised for the peas p'petuall or temporall, not oo'n article omitted nor postponed, some brevely conteynned, and some moor at large for my better remembrance, and at lenght oppenned, shewed, and declared the same, the said erle of Cassellis confermyng every parte by me shewed at that tyme. And, by-cause I conceived many thinggs were doutefull to sondery p'sons, I required that I mought here thair oppynnyons, and I wolde make aunsuer to the same; and be redy to stanne and trye every parte; by reason to be mooste effectuall and valeable, booth for the weall surety and pres'vacon of the yong king, mooste proufitable and comodious for his subjects, and the higheste way to cause his realme to encrease and flourishe in riches. I was moore quik in this matier by cause ther was a gret p'sonage naither favorable in woordes nor countenance therunto, as yo^r grace shall conceive, w^tynne iiij or v dayes, by an other l're, to be penned after an other man'.

"Hit was appointed that the next daye after sir W^m Scotte and oon Adam

Otterbone shulde have comynned all matiers, w^t me afore the counsaill. And conclusion upon my poor reasons made in fortifying yo^r gracious instruccions for a peas p[']petuall or temporall to be had betwene booth these realmes, nor comprehenc[']on nor mencion to be made in the same of Fraunce, grounded, furste of the nigh marching to gader of these said twoe realmes, w[']ynne oone yle, and of oon' speche and langage, the propyniye of bloode betwene the king's highnes my maister and the yong king his tender neviewe here, the saide yong kingg's possibiltye of enheritaunce booth to the crounes of Englande and Fraunce, and, fynally, the grete likelihoode he hath to be preferred afore all other to the mariage of my lady prynces, yf favorably and in mooste loving man' his grace can and woll use hym to the king's highnes his uncle. My saide lorde of Aburdyne pretermittynge reasonnyng in these p[']misses, made aunsuer touching mariage oonly, and that peas should not procede afore mariage, but that reasonable it were that mariage and peas shulde concurre and goe togader. And, as I putte example of the concluding furste of peas and then of mariage, betwene Eingland and Fraunce, at the wynnynge of To'nay right, soe the saide bisshop shewed sondery examples for mariage furste to be required, and thenne peas to succede and folowe, concluding, if the said mariage co[']uth or mought goe forward, the hool realme of Scotlande was fully mynded and inclyned utterly to abandon and leave Fraunce, and hoolly to be conjoynned w^t a p[']petuall peas to the realme of Einglande. And elles remembring the oolde lege betwene Fraunce and Scotlande, contynued by the space of five or six hondreth yeres, the saide bisshop alleged it was thought to the lordes of Scotlande, that it shulde be gretely to the reproche of thair hono^r either to agre to a peas, p[']petuall or temporall, as was required at this tyme on o^r party; therfoore I understande, by the reapoorte of the archbisshop of Saint Andrewes, principall and president here of all other next the quene's grace, that the said erle of Casselles shall departe from hennes towardes Einglande w[']ynne viij dayes, to declare that the counsaill here have determynned to require the king's highnes to

take an abstinence of warre for viii moneths, or for a like tyme as shall and may be concluded w^oute making any menc^on of Fraunce, to the intent, that in the mean tyme the king and the saide counsaill here may sende to the Frenche king, for saving of thair hono^r; shewing that, by occasion of warre, this realme is so ym^poveriss^hed that of necessite they must be enforced to have peas w^t Einglande, or elles the realme to be utterly loste and distrued, w^t this and many other thinggs sounding to the king's high pleasur and yours, it is thought here the saide erle shal passe forward^e w^t spede. And, as I understande the saide archbisshop is mynded, in breve tyme, to take travell upon hymself for making of a good peas betwene booth these realmes, and is mynded also to sende to your grace for a sauf conduyt; and at this tyme wryteth myche of his mynde to yo^r saide grace.

" And, for somyche as I conceived by reapoorte of sondery p^ons, that the lordes leving for this tyme booth thordo^r of a p^opetuall and temporall peas, were mynded to conclude upon an abstinence of warre for a season, as is aforesaide, I therfore repaired to the kyng, the quene's grace, and the lordes, and they all being togader, I saide, conceiving howe nigh the ordoring of the said abstinence of warre proceded upon such articles and instructions as lately came hider from the frenche king, that I doubted howe the kingg's highness my maister wolde accept hit; and therfore, yf suchie a thing shulde passe, I required to knowe what surety wold be made for keping frome hennes of the duke of Albany; and in case he came and wold enter into this realme, howe his comyng shulde be resisted; for it was naither ther abstynence of warre for viij moneths, nor for viij y^ores, that the kingg's highnes my maister esteemed so myche as the weall, surety, and preservac^on of the yong king, his dereste newewe, there p^osent; whiche cou^oth not be doon, the saide duke being in this realme, w^oute myche doubte and suspic^on of the yong kingg's mooste noble p^oson to be in grett p^oill and daunger, yf this matier be not well for^osepe and p^ovided for as afor. After the shewing of this w^t sondery other circumstanes conce^onyng the same, my lorde of Saint An-

drawes, and other the lordes, saide that the king's highnes shulde thereyn be soe well acertayned and aunswerde as they trusted shulde be to the high pleasur and contentacion of his grace in this behalve.

"As farre as my poor witte canne extende unto I have applied me, and used all the waies and meanes I cou'th, to have induced and p'suaded the quene's grace and the lordes of counsaill to have consented and agreed aither to the peas p'petuall or temporall, as was devised from yo' said grace; and for like purpos have doon many noblemen to here soe, and looke upon the copy of the Pope's breve, and to understand the grete goodnes and mooste singular intier good-will and mynde that the king's highnes bereth to his dereste newewe the yong king, w't the blessed mynde and good adv'isements of the pope's holynes had towards the saide yong prince, for the king's sake, and at the contemplac'on of his saide highnes. And over this, to thintent and purpos aforseide, I have doon the beste ther I cou'th often and sonderly tymes to the noblemen of this realme, insomyche I have had the mooste parte of thaym w't me, booth sp'r'tall and temporall, some oon day x or xij bisshops, erls, and barons, besides many other good gentillmen.

"My lorde of Saint Andrewes hath bene gretely charged sethemme Cristemmas with keping a grete house, and contynually useth the same, in myn oppynnyon, to his payne, by occasion of coste. His lordeship saith to me, he hath enterteynned, and intendeth to enterteyne, the lordes in suche a soorte, as shall be for the weall of the yong king his maister, and of this his realme, and as shalbe to the pleasur of the king's highnes and of yo' grace.

"The quene's grace enterteyneth th'erle of Angwishe w't good 'counten'nee and famylier comynnyca'oon; but contynually her grace procureth the said erle, by all the waies and meanes she canne, to a divorce; and at all tymes consisteth upon the same opyn'on, requiring the saide erle, as well by messengers as by herself at their meeting, naither to make the king's highnes

privea therunto, yo^r said grace, nor me. This knowledg I have by the saide erle of Angwysshe.

“I am right sorry to write or menc'on any thing ageinste the quene's grace here, but of trouth sethenne the commyng hider of Radcliffe and me, naither he nor I, nor I sethenne his departing, have founden the quene's saide g'ce fav'able and lovingly dispoosed and inclyned, naither to the realme of Einglande, to the king's highnes, nor to us his servants, oonless it were when her grace required, or was in truste to have money, as I suppose to y^r grace Radcliff hath reapoorted; and, for my part, sethenne his saide departing, I have founden the same soe true that I am sory to putte any parte thereof in paper, remembring whenne I have seen any good apperaunce I have writen the beste, and soone after founden them the contrary, so that by occasion therof muche trouble and grete contraversy is in this realme, and mooste spe'ally bycause good counsaill hath bene sette apart, and wilfulness accept and taken for the beste; and by this occasion the king's causes have bene neglected and put to hinderance that otherwise mought right well have bene admitted, as w^t Goddes grace, nev'theles, shalbe hereafter, yf all promysse be kept, as I truste shalbe on the behalve of my lord of Saint Andrewes.

“His lordship besecheth yo^r grace to have in remembrance his matier for the reformation of the exempc'on of Glasco from the see of Saint Andrewes, a remedy to be opteynned in this matier shulde be right pleasant to my saide lorde, and mychte to the contentac'on of his mynde, I truste that betwene yo^r said grace and the saide archbisshop, many things shall come to good effecte and purpoos, upon this mutual intelligence p'fitely had nowe betwene yo^r saide grace and his lordship.

“I have writen unto your grace at sondery tymes that I have bene in fere and daunger of my continuaunce here, which was most spe'ally for the quene's displeas^r had towardes me, and to such as resoorted unto my company, innsomyche as suche her s'unts of her lyene as her grace comanded, both at my furste comyng hider and se'thenne resoort unto me, have bene

and are discharged from the presence of her grace, oonly upon susspicon that they shulde discloos unto me some part of her secrets, as in good faith they did not, but ever used thaym in my company as veray honeste and right wise p'sonags. And, sethenne the quene's saide gr'ce received the king's last most honorable l'res, her grace naither afore, for want of money, nor sethenne, wolde looke upon me, nor suffer the yong king to speke unto me.

“ Furthermore pleas it yo^r grace to understande, that my sauf conduyt shall expire and goe forthe w'tynne xxvj dayes; wherfore I humble beseeche the king's highnes and your grace, that I may be discharged of myn aboode and contynuaunce here, for ofte I am in suspicion of some daunger, and spende the king's money and myn oon in right large man', and doe noon otherwise prevail in the cause of myn comyng hider but as yo^r said grace doth conceive. Some p'sons say, this Einglishman dooth noe good amongs us, and hath noe cure, though oone of us bete donne an other, for we wolde be of the same mynde and oppynnyon if we were in Einglande. Other ther ar also, that, by occasion of my long continuance here, making reasonable sute, be therefore more hawte and high in their oppynnyons, thiaking, and also speking, many simple words, as if the king's highnes were nude and bare of ffrends, and glad therfore to sette soe myche to thair favor.

“ Therle of Anguysshe and his broder full humbly recomaunde thaym unto your grace, and the saide erle writeth unto youe at this tyme, and both he and his broder Will^m beseeche yo^r grace that they maye have knowledge what is doon by yo^r grace's gracious favor, for making sine of Coldingham to the said Will^m; for, in case the matier be intriked w^t trouble in the courte of Roome, they be desirous to be adv'tised therof, and spe'ally of your gracious pleas^r, trusting elles to have some remedy upon agrement w^t the competitor for a penc'on, whiche woldbe costeleive and chargeable; and, therfore, if it mought be, they wolde fayne, w^t your gracious favor, have

soome moor easy waye and meanes to opteyne the same promoc'on, as myche for having rule of the men ther as for other proufite. I assure yo^r grace the said erle and his broder be as faste to the king's highnes, and to your grace next to the king thair maister, as is possible after thair powers. The saide erle speketh and saithe oppenly, in gret presence, his maister not offended, he woll serve the king of Einglande ageinst any prince, making nor axing question whether the king's highnes wol commande hym to goe, w^t as many his friends as he is able to assemble for such a purpoos. The good enterteynyng of said erle in Einglande, hough the quene's grace here were not, nor yet is pleased therwith, is gretely esteemed in the realme, to the king's mooste noble fame and grete hono^r.

“At the commyng from oute of the castell of the king's grace, and the quene his moder, and upon repairing into thair presence of thoder lordes, Harry Stewarde attended of the quene's grace, as he did afore for ij or iij dayes; and, after having daungrous counten'nce and better counsale, avoided prively, and paste, as I here, w^t twoe of his broder, to the quene's castell of Stirling, and ther contynueth. There ar also departed therle of Murray and the bisshop of Rosse, booth to gader, and therle of Englynton, w^t other.

“Upon Mondaye nyght last there was myche busynes, and all the lordes up, w^t many men lying aboute the abbey, upon a suspic'on that the king shulde have bene conveyed away, some say to the see, some to Donnbar, some to Sterling, and some oon waye, and some another, at their pleasures. Wherupon maister Carre was taken and kept inwarde, a night and a daye; and after, upon such declarac'ons as was made by the yong king and the quene's grace, and at the comandement spe'ally of the yong king, the saide Marke Carre was put at large, and deliverde to his grace. This matier the being soe pacefyed, the said king and quene be comm'en from thabbay, and doe lye, and shall contynue for a season, in the myddes of the toune.

"This my letter hath taried for these three dayes, for want of my lorde of Saint Andrewes letter. I truste they, booth ariving togader, shall depende the oo'n upon the other, to some good effecte, by the grace of God, who evermore have your saide grace in his moost blessed preservac'on. At Edinburgh, the xixth day of Marche.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

T. MAGNUS."

No. XIV.

THOMAS MAGNUS TO CARDINAL WOLSEY, on Scottish affairs.

"Pleas it yo^r grace to understande, that in my last l^res sent unto yo^r saide grace, of the xiiijth daye of this moneth, amonggs other matiers I advertissed yo^r grace of the going to the castell here of suche lordes as pretended to take the quene's parte and oppynnyon; and of the commyng into this toune, furste of therles of Anguysshe and Leneux, and thenne, after, of tharchbishop of Saint Andrewes, the other bisshops, and the lords temporall.

"Ymmediately upon the repairing and commyng hider of the saide lordes, thay did proclamacons to the lordes in the castell, that noe gret artillary shulde be shotte oute of the same at the toune, nor at any of thaym, upon gret paynes; the daungers therefore, if any like thing should chaunce to ensewe, upon the said lordes in the castell, if they couthe or mought be goten, and elles to be putte in execuc'on upon thair landes, ni'gh frendes, and favo'ers of thair oppynnyons in mooste daungerous maner, by reason wherof, or for favo^r borne by the saide lords, in the castell to the toune, or to the lords there, or to booth, noe parte of the said artillary was shotte, albeit there were bent directely upon the toune gret gonnes of brasse, called cannons, besides sondery other fawcons.

“In this meane time, the quene’s grace sent unto me a right good and an honeste prieste, her stewarde, and by hym desired me to speke w^t therle of Angwisshe, shewing, as her grace had doon afore, if she mought be putte in surety to enjoye the autorite graunted unto her saide grace in the p^lia-ment last hoolden here, w^toute demynuicon therof, she wolde accept hym into her gracious favo^r. Wherupon, I had comunicac^on w^t the said erle, and found hym right reducible and well inclyned to the quene’s pleasur, and right soe I advertised the quene’s saide grace by her said stewarde, by whoom, after ayene, the saide quene sent unto me a ryng, requiring me, by the same token, to procede in the message afore sent unto me ; and soe I did, and at large contynued therynne w^t the saide erle of Anguisshe, whoe, by the advies of the archbisshop of Saint Andrewes, and the bisshop of Aburdyne, besought the quene’s saide grace to putte her pleasur in writ-ing, and she shulde have a reasounable aunswer, by the consent of the lordes. W^t this message I went to the quene’s grace at the castell, and, as well as I cou^th, I gave her saide grace my poore advice in these trobelous and comberous causes.

“After this, her saide grace sent unto me a l^re, by her saide stewarde, directed to the lordes, conteynnyng her mynd, to be shewed unto theym ; whiche letter, in the best maner I couthe, I deliverde to the saide lordes xvij dayes of this moneth, and received an aunswer therunto from the saide lordes, copy of the quene’s saide letter, and of the same aunswer, I sende now unto yo^r saide grace.

“Thus I, w^toute helpe, but myself, contynued in sute betwene these gret p^ties from the xijth daye of this moneth to the said xvijth daye of the same ; which daye, aboute noon, I received the king’s moost honourable l^res, w^t yo^r gracious letters also, and other directe to the quene’s grace, and the king’s l^res adressed to the archbishop of Saint Andrewes, and to other the lordes,

whiche I deliverde w^t some busynes, by occasion that the comynng hider of s^r Cristofer Dacres s^unte w^t the same l^res, was knowen by the watche kepte, dayely and nightly, booth about the toune and castell; and that also booth the said p^ties were suspicious oon upon an other, spe^ally for such tidinggs and newes as shulde come from the king's highnes and yo^r g^rce; yet, nev^theles I passed thorough w^t good maner, furste to the quene's grace, and then to the lordes.

"The quene's saide grace accepteth in reasonable good parte the king's saide l^res and yours; but the lords received the kingg's l^res in mooste joyous maner, with lowly thanks to his highnes, that soe graciously, so indifferently, and in so pleasaunt a maner, had thaym in his blessed remembrance, whiche, I assure yo^r grace, is highly esteemed, to the comforte of the gratteste parte of all the noble, wise, richeste, and hardieste men of this realme.

"The saide xvijth daye therles of Carsilles and Eglynton came from oute of the castell upon asurance, to speke and commyn w^t the lords in the toune, and by thair meanes, and suche other further sute, asuraunce was graunted to all the lordes in the castell, to come also into the toune to comyn of all causes, w^toute any assurance required or demaunded on the other party.

"Thus, by meanes of the king's mooste gracious l^res, and yours, the good mynds of the lordes well inclyned to good unyte and concoorde, and some parte by my poore soliciting and labouring, there is a concoorde and agreement betwene the quene's grace, and other the lordes, concluded yesterday the xxist daye of this saide moneth, as yo^r grace shall conceive by the articles of the same, whiche nowe I sende unto yo^r saide grace, menc^onnyng myche of all the hool matier.

"As yet, yo^r gracious l^re in cifre is not co^men unto me, I have sent to sir Cristofer Dacre for hit, by poste, to Hexh^m, iiij dayes agoe.

"I sende also, at this tyme, unto yo^r saide grace, copy of the acts of the

last p'liament hoolden here, wherunto the quene's saide grace referred myche of her demaundes; to thentent and purpoos yo^r saide grace shall and may understande theeffecte of the same.

“Yo^r grace shall also understande what moved the lordes and gentlemen that repared to the quene in the castell to come thider: furste, the archbishop of Glasco is maister of the yong king, and contynually attendeth upon his p'son. Therle of Murray, of french faccon, contynueth in truste not oonly to have in marriage my lady Margarete, the quene's and therle of Anguisshe doughter and hair, but also to have the warde and mariage of the yong erle of Hontelay, the gretteste man of lande in Scottelande.

“The bisshop of Rosse in maner and totally is creauncer and counsaillor to the saide erle, and is the gretteste frenshe man, as all men say, aboute the quene's grace, and the moost doth experiment his counsaill for that purpoos.

“Therle of Ayren, in whoe there is noe er'neast mynde nor high displeur, is soe bounden to the quene's grace, by promyse and otherwise, that he darre not displeas her, or elles it is, and moost spe'ally to be nooted, for the preferment of his sonne to the abbasy of Paslay, because he canne not nor may receive the bishoprick of Murray, these two benefics be conveyd betwene the abbot of Paslay, and therle of Ayren's sonne being a yong thing.

“I knowe not whye that my lorde of Cassilles kept company in the castell, but aither for attendaunce upon the kingg's grace, or for the favour or frendeship of his kynnesmen there.

“Therle of Eglington, being a sadde and a varray auncient man, was there, by occasion of fede and displeasur betwene hym and th'erle of Anguysse, for the deth of his sonne, whenne sir Patrik Hamylton was slayn, and yet he is mynded to be agreed.

“The lorde Maxwell loveth the king his maister, as, I am sure, doe all the other; and, therefore, he repared to the king's presence, and, also, because he trusteth to have for his sonne, or nigh kinsman, the abbasy of Melroos.

“Marke Carre hath of late, of the quene's gifte, an hundreth marks, in fee, oute of her landes; and, by occasion therof, and, also, that the saide Marke and Dan' Carre, lorde of Cefforth, be at a gret variaunce w^t the lorde of Boclough, thair nigh kynnesman, nigh kynnesman also to th'erle of Anguisshe, and of his party at this tyme, thay booth entred the castell, or for the weall and surety of the yong king their maister, as, I doubt not, thay did.

“These lordes aforesaide were putte in mynde, by the quene's grace, that the king's highnes wolde sende unto her booth men and money, to mayntayne her causes againste the other lordes. Hit moveth me to write unto yo^r saide grace in this matier, by cause yo^r grace may conceive what moved the said lordes and gentilmen to repar to the quene's grace rather thenne the other. I pray God her saide grace may well be loved booth of Scottishe men and other, and that her grace be nowe as well mynded for a good peas as, I suppose, ar some other; but I doubte her grace woll have some privea waye by herself, as she hath had afore. Howbeit her power in that party is likely to be restrayned, as yett, I darre not write planely unto yo^r grace; but, in my next letter, yo^r saide grace shall have further knowledge and advertisements in sondery thinggs. I truste these lordes be well sette for a good peas to be had betwene booth these realmes, and that it shal be the furste matier that they woll procede unto. I shall not faill, God willing, to doe my diligence for solliciting of the matier; and purpoosely for this cause, my lorde of Saint Andrewes and I, at all o^r metinggs in this troublesome tyme of busynes, have ever had a good part of o^r comynnycac'ons, and have studied howe the same peas may come to good effecte, the oon waye or the other, to the king's high pleasur, and yours. I doubte there is oon hath attempted to doe some hurt th'ynne; the certainty known, yo^r grace shalbe advertized therof. My saide lorde of Saint Andrewes writeth at large to yo^r grace at this time, whoom I finde veray faste, of good mynd, and well

inclyned to the surety the yong king his maister, and for the good of peas to be betwene booth these realmes, and to doe that thing that may be to the king's high pleasur, and yours, concernyng the weall of booth the saide realmes, as hider towarde his lordship, to his gret coste, payn, travell, and busynes, hathe putte in experience, and soe is mynded to contynue, if he may be well bakked, comforted, and favo'ed by the kinggs highnes and yo' grace, for where afore the frenche king and the duke of Albany had good truste, love, and favo' towards his lordship, sp'cally that Scotlande shulde contynue the oold lege w^t Fraunce; and that this realme the rather, by his meanes, shulde be kepte faste in favo' to Fraunce, and not to be divided in any part from the same, it is suppoosed to his lordship that, as well by reapoort and relacon, as upon putting in exec'on suche thinggs as at this tyme ar done, and at a point to be concluded, the saide frenshe kingg and the duke shall bere ageinste hym, and all his frendes, thair higheste and gretteste displeasure, wherof he hath noe cure, the kingg's saide highnesse and yo' grace contynuyng yo' love and favo' to his yong maister and to hym, wherunto his lorde-ship trusteth verely, and soe to doe I putte hym in good truste and confidence, as in my duety to doe, and as, assuredly, I knowe wol be accomplished.

“ My saide lorde fyndeth hym greved that the archbishop of Glasco hath doon hymselff to be exempte from the see of Saint Andrewes, as yo' grace shall conceive by his l're; and, as he is infourmed it shulde be doon by the meanes of the kinggs procmatour lying in the co'te of Roome, at the kingg's high comaundement and yours, I putte my saide lorde oute of doubte, as farre as I have had any knowledge or p'ceiving, it is not soe. Howe be it his lordship hath required me right spe'ally to putte yo' saide grace in remembrance that, by yo' favo', a reformat'on of the saide exempc'on may be obteyned, whiche, I conceive, shulde myche conferre to his comfort and pleasur.

"Yo^r grace shall conceive by the articles of the conclusion of the gret busynes here, howe farre the quenes grace varieth from her messags, that her g'ce sent unto me, and from the contynne of the letter of her owne hande sent to the lordes, wherynne credence was co'mytte unto me; and that, by all likelyhoode, she woll take good advisem'ent betwene this and Whitsondaye what is beste to doe, trusting of a divorce to be had betwene her grace and therle of Anguysshe; for whiche purpoos, and other causes, it is openly spoken here, that * * Cantelays, of whoos departur I have mencon in my last lres, is paste towardes the frenshe king, and to the duke of Albeny, and soe to Roome.

"It will appere unto yo^r grace, by the saide articles of the agrement, howe the saide erle of Anguysshe standeth and is bounden for performaunce of his promise made to the quenes grace, notw^tstanding, afore the saide bonde and promys paste, the saide erle he protested openly, that in case the king of Englande wold be content therwith, the same to be firme and stable, and elles to be utterly voide and of noon effecte, and therupon did take an instrument.

"Albeit the quene's grace yesterday, w^t the consent of the lordes aboute her saide grace, was fully content, as appereth by her's and all their hands' writing; yet nowe I here there is some variance or some repentaunce, that man'er is so myche used, wherof I am sorry, for all things doon and accorded oon daye is altred the other daye; but this matier is goon soe farre that it canne not nor may be reto'ned nor revoked agenue. And Almighty God have yo^r saide grace in his mooste blessed pres'vac'on. At Edinburgh, the xxij^d day of February.

Your most humble preiste and bedeman,

THOMAS MAGNUS."

No. XV.

THOMAS MAGNUS to CARDINAL WOLSEY, on Scottish affairs.

"Pleas it your grace to be advertissed, that sethenne my last l'res sent unto yo^r saide grace of the xxiiij daye of January, wherynne was conteynned the request of the lordes that thenne were at Saint Andrewes, for thair reparing and comyng hider, to doe s'vice unto thaire souveraine lorde and maister, w^t the quene's aunsuer made unto the same, there is gret apperance of myche trouble and busynes betwene the quene's grace and other the saide lordes, as by copy of p'clamacon directe furthe to the quene's comandement and the kinggs counsaill here, and putte in execuc'on, it maye appere w^t further likelyhoode of busynes to be understande by a copy also of an other p'clamac'on made upon the saide lordes party, whiche copyes, and the copy of a letter sent from the bisshop of Aburdyne to the countroller here, and the copyes of other twoe l'res directe to diverse p'sons, oon from the lordes and the other from th'erle of Argile, I sende unto your saide grace.

"By the same writinggs many thinggs shall appere unto you wherynne the quene's grace hath right grete nede of good and hoolsome counsaile; whiche, after my poore mynde wanteth, as hath doon a good season aboute her saide grace. Here is myche busynes for assembling of men to attende upon the yong king, whoome the quene's saide grace is mynded to take furth of the castell here, and to sette forward, w^t her owne p'son, towardes Starling, where the saide lordes have appointed to be upon Monday next comyng; my poore advice is and shalbe to the quene's grace, if it shall like her to accept the same, wherof I doubte, not to passe furithe ageinste the saide lordes w^t any power, but rather to breke some part of her oone mynde and oppynnyon, and to suffer thaym, upon some reasonable waye to be devised and taken, to come hider, for doing s'ice to their souveraine lorde in

peasable maner, and soe to departe from hennes ageine w^toute any further vexac[']on.

“ It is not thought here that any gret nommbre of men woll hoolde faste and surely to the quenes party, albeit the kinggs p[']son be present; but that the taking away of the yong king from the quenes grace wolbe in jep[']dy, m['] moore likly to be doon thenne otherwise, for ther ar right fewe men that woll fight ageinste the saide lordes on the other party, as is saide; but rather, it is thought, that myche moore people will favo^r and fall to the saide lordes thenne to the quenes party.

“ I have received twoe l[']res of late, oon from the archbisshop of Saint Andrewes and the other from therle of Anguysshe; whiche l[']res I send also to yo^r saide grace.

“ According to yo^r gracious comandement, conteynned in y^r last l[']res of the vth daye of January, I wroote to booth the saide lordes, and enterteynned thaym w^t as good woordes as I couth, couched after yo^r saide comandement, as dooth appere by thair aunsuers, and spe[']ally by the saide erles aunsuers, as is conteyned in his letter.

“ The saide archbisshop looketh for my lorde of Cassilles and me to mete hym at Domfarmeling, but the quenes grace woll not accorde therunto. And, as to the credence shewed unto me by the bringger of his letter was that he wolde not faille to be a good s[']vante to the king his maister, and that he wold endeavo^r hym, to the beste of his power, for an unite, conceorde, and a good peas, to be had betwene Englande and Scotlande, and woll soe ord^r hym and his frendes in suche maner that he trusteth the kinggs highnes and yo^r grace shalbe right well content and pleased w^t hym.

“ Amonggs other thinggs, the saide erle of Anguysshe menconneth the comynng hider of Groselles was parte againste hym; whiche I believe but upon suche privea advertisements as have bene geven unto me sethenne my laste writing unto your saide grace. I dqubte there was some further ma-

tiers that paste by the saide Groseilles into Fraunce otherwise thenne I was privea unto. And therfoore, it is supposed by some p'sons, the quenes grace and her counsaile of frenshe facon, doe drive the tyme to thay shall here further from oute of Fraunce, oonles the quenes saide grace have explainned her mynde otherwise by her twoe gret paquettes of l'res sent to the kinggs highnes, and to the scottishe ambassadors there, wherunto I was not privea in any parte.

"Some thinggs are to be gaderde and remembred upon the secrete things disclosed to me by your grace in your saide last l'res, and upon such woordes as my lorde of Cassilles shewed to me, spoken by Harry Stuarde, touching the duke of Albeny, comprised in my l'res laste sent unto yo^r saide grace.

"The Gales, w^t other iiij frenche shippes, marchaunts, ar not yet dep'ted, but upon the point of departyng, taryng for wynde and weder.

"I see noe likelihoode of any good thing as yet to ensewe on this side by the counsaill here towards Englande, oonles it be on the behalve of the quenes oone p'son, wherynne is some doubte, because, as soon as her grace conceived the mariage of my lady princes did reste upon a possibilite doutefull unto her, her saide grace was not the best content therwith; and also she had written and made up her l'res, or that my lorde of Casselles had made declaracon afore the lordes of the causes to hym commytted, and the aunsuer by thaym made to the same.

"What woll further ensewe of all these busynes towards, it is doutefull, as I am well assured your saide grace doth well consider.

"Mi lorde of Cassilles and I, ar counsailling what is beste to be doon, to kepe this intended busynes from a sodaine hasarde. I doubte the quenes severall proclamac'ons shall doe hurte, by cause her grace declareth openly the doinggs and attemptats of the saide lordes to be treasonable acts. Nev'theles, I shall soe call upon the quenes grace, and upon my saide lorde of

Cassilles, that if it be possible, this grete busynes shall not joyne upon soe narrowe a pointe, and soe daungerous, as yet it is likely to doe. Howe be it, my comyng to the quenes presence for any my poore adv'tisments, to be geven to her grace, is moore by poore policy used thenne by any comandement or calling to the same; and, after the same maner, ofte and many tymes, the abbot of Holy Roode House, and the abbot of Paslay be used; insomyche, thay, being the mooste sadde and auncient counsaillours here, shew unto me they were never made privea to any parte of such proclamacons as ar goon and paste furth at this season. Here is daungerous tarying, for I see noe p'son in surety but suche as are hable to defende thaym selves, soe that for want of drede of justice I doe not conceive that reasone, lawe, nor hono^r is consicidered, the yete be soe sorre barred up that justice canne not ne may have power to isshewe furth and passe abroode.

"As these causes and matiers shall further procede I shall advertise yo^r grace, if I be not enforced to departe from hennes, whiche I shall not be afore I shall see cause of daunger. All other lres passe in p'll, and therefore I accompt me noe moore in daunger otherwise than I doe by the same occasion, insomyche as I am constrayned to send furth my lres by other p'sons thenne the poste. Even nowe I have seene a letter, written to the countroller from the erle of Rothes, copy wherof I sende nowe unto your saide grace, and by the same your grace may conceive what parell it is to putte in execut'on in these partes the king's commandem^t and yours, consicidering the gret devision that is in this realme, comen nowe to soe high a displeasure as appereth. And also in this present tyme is com'en unto me James Dog, the quenes trusty s'unte, to borrow of me, for her grace, the somme of iiijc crownes; whiche, w^toute the kinggs comandem^t and yours, I am not hable to accomplishe. And thus I am and have bene attempted sondery tymes afore. I muste doe as I may, as God knoweth; whoe ever moore

have y^r saide grace in his mooste blessed pres'vac'on. At Edinburgh, the ij^{de} day of February.

Your mooste humble prieste and bede'man,

T. MAGNUS."

No. XVI.

T. MAGNUS to CARDINAL WOLSEY, on Scottish affairs.

"Pleas it your grace to be adv'tised, that by my letter of the secunde daye of this moneth, I ascertayned your saide grace of suche ymmynent daungers, troubles, and gret variauncs, as were right nigh at hand, betwene the quenes grace here, and other the lordes; that is, to wite, tharchbisshop of Saint Andrewes, the bisshop of Aburdyne, w^t sonderly other bisshops, therles of Anguysshe, Argile, Leneux, and many other erles and barrons of this realme, as by the copies of thair lres, and of thair proclamacons, I doubte not at large it did appere. Soe it was, as thenne I wroote unto your said grace, the saide lordes, assembled and convened at Sterling, on Monday the xjth daye of this saide moneth, betwene whoom and the quenes saide grace many messags have paste for the pacifying of the variaunces and debates betwene thaym concernyng the preservacon of the yong king here in his good health, educacon, and good gov'ance, in this his tendre age, the rule and ordering of this his realme, w^t due admynistracon of justice, a directe orde^r to be had for the bringing ynn of the revenues of his possessions, for the maynten'nce of his estate and dingnitye royall, and for a good peas, to be had betwene Englande and Scotlande. And, for so myche as the saide lordes suppoosed by thair l'res directe to the quenes grace, it was right paynfull and troublous to send from tyme to tyme soe farr as betwene Edinburgh and Sterling; thay therefore, and for the moore comodyte of the causes in

controversy, repared to a toune called Dalkeeth, wthynne onn myles of this toune, upon Thursday laste.

“ And, for the debating and repressing of the attemptats com^{it}te by the saide lordes, the quenes grace was mynded, and procured, that therles of Arren, Murray, Eglington, and Cassilles, wth other lordes, reparing hider for the kinggs surety, shulde give bataill to the other lordes and party. Howe be it, upon counsaile and advice taken by thaym, they made aunswer to the quenes saide grace, thay sawe noe cause why thay shulde soe doe, oonles the kinggs grace here shulde goe furthe in his onne p^{er}son, and that any his subjects wolde invade his said grace as if a foe were, than wolde to the uttermooste of thair powers defende hym, as their souveraine lorde and maister; and elles thay wolde not in any wise attempte any thing ageinste the other party by hostile of warre. The quenes grace, being mynded that the king her sonne shulde not passe from oute of her custody and keping, inaventure his grace shulde not retorne unto her ageine, wolde not agree to the requests and mynds of the saide lordes; but saide she was content that, for somyche as a grete part of this variaunce proceded betwene her grace and therle of Anguysshe, she was content therynne, and in other causes, to stande to the ord^r and arbitrement of the saide lordes, on the kinggs party and hers. Wherupon her grace sent for me, and, after myche comyunycacon, some parte pleasaunt, and some parte to the contrary, it was not possible she shulde be better mynded and inclyned thenne she was at that tyme, to accepte therle of Anguysshe to her gracious favor, for the better relieff of her causes in controversy. Notwthstanding, the morrowe after all was turned to the contrary, booth concernyng the promyse made to the saide lordes and the comynnycacon had betwene the quenes grace and me, as is afore saide, wth suche maner and wordes as I think not convenient to be written; and, as the case required, I gave but convenient hearring to the same.

"And, because these matiers were of gret ymportauce, diverse and sonderly tymes I offered, that my lorde of Cassilles and I mought have goon to have spoken w^t the lordes of the other party, for the better pacefyng of all causes, and spe'ally the quenes grace wolde not I shulde goe, though therles of Arren and Cassilles on her party, and thoder lordes on the other party, required the same.

"These causes and matiers thus depending in controversy, w^toute order for reducing of thaym to any good conclusion, it was devised and agreed, Cassilles, the bisshop of Rosse, and the lorde Maxwell, shulde mete w^t tharchbisshop of Saint Andrewes, the bisshop of Aburdyne, therle of Argile, and the other lordes of the other party and their counsail, as, s^r Will^m Scott and other, at Dalkeith aforesaide, on Saturdaye laste; and soe thay did, and accorded right well togader. Howe be it, whenne the quenes party came hooime her grace wolde not agre to the comynnycacon, and suche ordo^r as was devised betwene the lordes.

"On Sondaye next after newe messingers on the quenes party were sent to the saide lordes, to moove unto thaym, that her grace was content thay shuld repaire and come hider, to trete, speke, and com'yn of the causes in controversy, soe that thay wolde agre and consent that noe thing shulde be doon to the demynuicon of her autorite, graunted unto her grace in the laste p'liament, or elles that thay wolde consent and agree, that, where as the saide p'liament was proroged and contynued to the xxth day of this moneth, hit shulde clerely for this tyme be dissolved, cessate, and annulled. Wherunto the saide lordes, considering ther ar sonderly thinggs besides the quenes saide autorite, concernyng the weall and surety of the yong king, and of this his realme, to be reformed, aunsuer also to be retourned to thair ambass^{rs} in Englande, by the consent of the gret and mooste discrete counsaillor of this realme, wolde not accoorde nor agre in anywise. Wherupon, th'erles of Arren, Murray, Eglynton, and Cassilles, the lorde Maxwell, Dan

Carre of Cesforth, and Marke Carre, conveyed thair s'unts frome thaym, and went into the Castell to the king and the quene; every of thaym taking w^t thaym oon or twoe s'unts at the mooste, and ther contynue.

“The officers of this toune, w^t the inhabitantns of the same, sent woorde to the lordes, that thay shulde come hider and be welco'm unto, and furth-with sette thair yetts open, being afore barred and nightly kept w^t watche and warde. And soone after mydnight therle of Anguysshe and the erle of Leneux came into this toune, w^t vi or vij hondreth men, all at thair pleasurs, and soe did take thair lodgings, and went to thair rests. The residue of thair men, as is saide to the noumber of twoe thousande, remaynned w^t the bisshops, erls, and other the lordes, at Dalkeeth; the same men being for the moost parte, as is reapoorted, landed men, men of good honesty, and househoolde men, well chosen and well horsed. Yesterdaye, ageinste night, the saide lordes, and other thair company afore saide, came hider, and logged themselves in this toune, and nigh therunto, as thay maye w^toute the daunger of gunne shotte from oute of the castell, and intende to kepe the p^lliament for the weall of the yong king and of this his realme; and, as farre as in anywise I canne conceive, for a peas to be betwene Englande and Scotlande; wherof I assure your grace I see moore apperaunce hider towarde thenne of the quenes party, conscidering in my poor mynde her counsallor to be moor of the ffrensh facc'on thenne thay be to the favor of Englande; and yet a gret parte of the quenes counsaill be moore inclyned to Englande thenne to Fraunce.

“The quenes grace of late hath been myche desirous to a devorce and dep'ting to be had betwene her saide grace and therle of Anguysshe, and hath made many meanes for the same purpose, insomyche that right lately her grace being content to have famylier comynnycacon w^t me, shewed she wolde be content to geve to the sede erle, of her landes * * m'rks scottishe yerely, to suche tyme as her grace shulde advaunce some oon of his frenda

to * * marks of spec'al promoc'on, soe that there shulde be noe further intermeddling betwene thaym, but the oon to be discharged of the other; yet, nevertheles, the quenes grace even now maketh secret moc'ons, after a better and more godly manner, to the saide erle, wherunto I am mooste privee, I pray God her grace wolbe of good p'severaunce, and thenne I woll not doubte but other thinggs shall myche the better come to the kinggs high purpoos and yours.

"Withynne iiij or v dayes moore, certaine knowledge wolbe had to what effecte this trouble and busynes woll ensewe, and furthwith I shall advertise your grace of the same, by the help of Almighty God, who evermoore have yo^r saide grace in his mooste blessed preservac'on. At Edinburgh, the xvijth daye of February.

Your mooste homble prieste and bedeman,

T. MAGNUS."

No. XVII.

[This letter furnishes a favourable specimen of the force and affluence of the cardinal's style, the comprehension of his mind, the justness of his ideas, and the vigour of his intentions. J. G.]

FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY to the KING'S AMBASSADORS with the EMPEROR.

"Mr. Sampson and Mr. Jermyngham, I commend me unto you in my most right hearty manner. Since the arrival here of Mr. Boleyn, by whom the kings grace hath been advertised of the state wherein the emperor's matters and affaires stood at his departing, is also come hither Mons^r de Beawrayn, sent by the sayd emperor with letters to the kings grace and me, and also with two instructions; one concerning such matters as he had to be spoken of here, and the other touching certain benefices to be by him done with the duke of G * * a * * e; the effect of both which instructions were

taken out and translated into English, and the abstracts of the same, for your better knowledge and understand^s, I send unto you herewith. I receyved also, by the sayd Beawrayn, the letters of you, Mr. Sampson, to me directed, the effect whereof I shewed unto the kings grace, who, as well for your diligent writings at that time, as for other your former advertisements, giveth unto you speciall thanks, like as I do the semblable, for my parte. And for as much as, by the sayd two abstracts, yee shall amply and fully understand the charge which was co'mitted to Mons^r de Beawrayn by the two instructions*, I shall, therefore, refer you thereunto for your knowledge in that behalfe, advertising you that, inasmuch as the sayd Beawrayn might not we would make any manner abode here, saying that he must be with the sayd duke, at the place prefixed, by the latter end of this monthe; a memorial, therefore, was given unto him, of certain things which he should doe there on the kings behalfe, till such season as doctor Knight, being ambassiate with the lady Margarett, and, consequently, well on his way, might with co'mission and instruction sent unto him in diligence, repaire also to the same place, there to be present at the diett and treaty with the sayd duke for the kings parte; which co'mission and instruction, incontinently after the departure of the said Mons^r de Beawrayn, were made and sent unto D^r Knight; the copy whereof, and also of the memorial, in Latyne, given to Beawrayn, yee shall receive at this time, soe that, by all the sayd copies, yee shall know and understande the whole processe of every thing which hath been devised, concluded, and done by the kings grace and his counsaile in this behalfe, and how ready and inclined his highnes is to every such thing as may sound to the furtherance, benefit, and advancement of the co'mon enterprises and affaires. And, in case either the sayd Mons^r de Beawrayn, or the emperors ambass^r here resident, had had any

* See the instructions from the king.

co'mission or instruction to have treated and concluded with the kings grace, upon the nombers, place, tyme, and other specialties concerning the advancement of armies, on either side, against Ffrance, this summer, and for the putting over of the p'sonall invasion, the same had also been fully concluded and agreed; nevertheless, all possible diligence is used here for preparation, and putting every thing in perfect readines, that shall be requisite for the army to be sent out of this realme into Ffrance, soe as, incontintly upon knowledge had from you that the emperor hath concluded a treaty for that purpose, and that yee se reall and effectuall execution of the same, and advancement forward on that side, the kings army, withoute tracte of tyme or delay, shall be in diligence transported, soe to proceede according to the conven'c'ons and agreements which shall be passed by you in that behalfe. Wherefore, yee shall diligently procure and sollicite th' emperor to accelerate his resolution therein, if it be not done already, as I trust verily it is before this tyme, and your letters, dispa'ched hitherwards, contayneing answere of the same, which, for the more suretie yee may duplicate, soe as, for lack of knowledge from thence, if any misadventure should happen to your first letters, the king's grace should not remaine destitute and unprovided of answere touching the emperor's mynd in the p'misses, without which no fruitful thing, except preparation, can be done, either concerning invasion to be made this yeare, as is aforesayd, neither also th' effectual execution of the treaty to be passed with the sayd duke. And what the kings grace hath resolved and done touching the charge of Beawrayn, yee being now sufficiently instructed by the said copies, shall, with the kings most cordiall and my most humble reco'mendac'ons, shew and declare unto th' emperor, with such doubtful points as concerne de la Moer, and other suspicions which might arise in this matter, as the thing which, though it be not very apparent, yet the kings grace, who tendreth th' emperor's honor and weale as much as his

owne, would not p'termitt to advertise his majesty of any matter that might be doubtful and dangerous unto his affaires.

* "Over this, yee shall shew unto the emperor that, upon safe conduct desired by the king of Denmark, and to him graunted, he, with the queene his wife, and 100 persons in their company, be lately arryved here; when the kings grace, as well for the honor of his highnes, and of this his realme, as for the allyance which is with the sayd king, by reason of the queene his wife, hath, for th' emperors and her love and honor, more than for any demonstrac'on of kindnes heretofore shewed by the king of Denmark towards the kings grace and this realme, hath receyved and entertayned, in the best manner, at the kings charges and expences, from their arryval at Calays forward; since whose coming to the kings presence at Greenwicke, where they were for a season lodged and feasted, and also since their coming to London, where they now be, at Bathes place, all at the kings cost, as aforesayd, I have, on the kings behalfe, had sundry occas'ons with the sayd king of Denmark, upon the cause and occasion of his coming hither, perceiving, in effect, by him, that the crowne of the realme of Denmark is not descended unto him by rightfull succession of inheritance, but by elecc'on, as it hath alwayes been accustomed†, the prerogative and jurisdiction of which elecc'on resteth in certaine speciall persons of the same realme, who, at the request of the late king of Denmark, father to this man, passed th' elecc'on of him, in his fathers dayes, to succede in the sayd kingdom after his tyme, with certaine conditions, whereunto they astringed and bound him, for the nonobservance and violation, it should be lawful to the same elisors to departe from his obeysance: which elecc'on so passed; having, the late old king of Denmark, at that time another son, and being, this king, at the time of his said

* The following contains the opinion of the cardinal and the english government on one of the most remarkable incidents of the age of Henry VIII.

† The constitution of Denmark.

elecc'on, but of xij yeares of age, was, by the ffathers persuasion, after the death of the sayd other sonne, ratified and confirmed*. Howbeit the sayd king affirmeth, that the condic'ons were more strange than had been accustomed to be used in other princes dayes, whereunto he, in that mynority, was nevertheless obliged and bounden, and that, for such matters as the said elisors, with other his subjects, doe alleage against him, sounding to the rupture and breach, as they say, of the sayd condic'ons, albeit he was, and is contented, if he can be found defective in the same, to reforme and amend any thing by him passed; yet, nevertheles, partly by counsaile of the duke of Holston, and partly by the instigation of the Steds, enemies to the sayd king, the sayd elisors have abandoned him, and elected his uncle, the sayd duke of Holston, who, with the puissance of his adherents, soe proceeded against the said king, that, if he had not fledd with his wife and children, he and they should (as he sayeth) not only have been put in danger of their persons, but also he had lost his shippes, ordnance, goods, and substance, for which cause he withdrew himselfe, first towards th' emperor's sayd Low Countries, and nowe into England, to require, demand, and aske of th' emperor, and the kings grace, as well help and assistance, as also advise and counsaile. And this is the very cause and manner of his repaire hither at this time. Whereupon the kings highnes, for the neere connection which the sayd king of Denmark hath with th' emperor by marriage of his sister, who is a princesse full of good vertues and manners, and whom the kings grace, as well for th' emperors sake as for her noble qualities, right much doth tender and regarde, hath at good length debated and devised upon this matter with me, and other of his counsaile, to whom it is thought right strange† that the king of Denmark (as he affirmeth) having divers other great patrymonies, countries, and places of his in-

* The origin of the danish revolution.

† Very sensible conduct of England on this occasion.

heritance, and otherwise faithfull, sure, and true to him, who will at all tymes take his part, and receyve and obey him as their sovereign lord (the names of which countries and places be menc'oned in a bill here inclosed), would thus sodainly departe into remote and strange parts, whereby the more courage and boldnes might be given to his adversaries and enemies, both to persist in their displeasant myndes towards him, and also to provoke other of his loving subjects to their devot'on and partie: whereas, by his presence and ostentation of himselfe, they might percase with good pollicy and ayde of his loving subjects, have been the more facily vanquished and subdued, or, at the least, induced to have changed their purpose.

“ For which cause, upon good deliberation, and often conversac'ons by me had with the sayd king of Denmarke, I have advised and counsailed him, in any wise to repaire again, with diligence, to such of the sayd countries and places remayning in his obeysance, as he shall think expedient, making his demore and continuance there, for procuring and labouring such things as may be most beneficial to the recovery of the good wills and myndes of the sayd elisors, lords, and subjects of Denmark, and the reconciliation of him unto his enemies. To the furtherance whereof, it is thought that th' emperor, of good congruence and kindness, and the kings grace, for gratuity and love, shall put their hands by good mediac'on, sending ambassadors and letters, both unto the sayd elisors, duke of Holston, and other lords of Denmark, which may labour them to resume and take again their sayd king, who is contented not only to reforme all such things, if any be, as they thinke him to have done contrary to the sayd condic'ons, wherein the kings grace will take upon him and be bound as his suretie, that he should soe doe; but, also, will utterly remitt and forgive any displeasure or attempt which they or his subjects have enterprised, done, or com'itted against him in this his expulsion and new election. And, furthermore,

meanes may be made to the said Steds, who have great priviledges and liberties in the emperors and kings regions, that at their contemplation, and for their sakes, they will cease from any hostility, war, or rancor, against the sayd king, and some amiable composition to be made in the differences depending between them. All which devise the kings grace will cause his ambassadors, resident at the court of Rome, to shew unto the popes holynes, to th' intent that the same also may send his breves and writings, both to the sayd duke of Holsten, elisors, and other of Denmarke, and also to the Steds, for this purpose; with which ambass^r expedient it shall be that th' emperors ambass^r doe alsoe joine therein; soe that it is verily trusted that th' emperor putting his hands effectually hereunto, as of reason and kindnes he must needs doe, the proximity of bloud and faire succession descended betweene the said king and queene considered, this matter may yet be reduced and brought, with labor, help, and pollicy, into good trayne, and the sayd king, with Gods grace, by loving and faire meanes, restored to his kingdome, without further violence, warr, or effusion of bloud, which waye is meete and expedient to be first attempted, and noe further hostilitie to be raised or stirred, in 'xpendure, if it be possible. Nevertheless, if the same shall in no wise doe profitt or availe unto him, but that the Danes and Steds shall remaine obstinate and in p'nacity, without conforming themselves to good order and reason, then further direction may be taken, for assistance to be given unto the sayd king, as wel by the kings grace and th' emperor, as by such other princes of Almayne, and elsewhere, as be his confederates, lovers, and frends. Wherefore yee, shewing and declaring the p'misses, shall procure and sollicite depeche of such p'sonages and writings as he will send for this purpose, which comand'ment to be given to his orator at Rome, to joine with the kings ambassador, as is aforesayd; in which meane time as much shall be done by the kings grace as may be possible, for it is a thing farr dis-

crepant from good order, reason, or congruence, that a prince shall thus, by the wilfulness of his lords and commons, be expelled and put from his crowne, upon any grievances by them pretended, specially not being the matters first shewed and objected unto him, and his answere heard upon the same; ascertayning you that the sayd king, accepting marvailous thankfully, and in good parte, this good advice and counsaile, the circumstances whereof I have caused to be put in articles in Latine, which he singularly liketh, is mynded, within four or five daies, to departe, with the queene his wife, towards Flanders, where his shippes be in rigging, soe to proceede further according to the sayd device; praying you, therefore, to ascertayne me of the emperors answere and resolution herein, and in all other the p'misses, with diligence, as the kings special trust is in you.

“ Post scripta.—Letters be arrived, as well from the bishop of Bathe, being the kings ambassador at Rome, dated there the third day of the last moneth; as also from Mr. Pace, dated at Venice the first day of the same, the copies of which letters, for your better knowledge and information, I send you with these presents; by tenor whereof you shall, among other things, perceive, how, upon the attachment of the cardinall Sodormo, the Ffrench king hath revoked his ambassadors, which were on their way towards the popes holiness, and that in the court of Rome is neither com'ission nor person deputed for the sayd Ffrench king, to treatie either of peace or truce; soe as there is noe manner likelihood, apparance, or towardnes, that any thing may or shall, at this time, be further done therein, or that the emperor and the kings grace shall ground or establish their com'on matters thereupon, but substantially to foresee and provide for all such things as may concerne the most effectual anoyance of the com'on enemy. Yee shall further p'ceive by the sayd copies, that expectation is to be had of the popes holynes, who in noe wise will be induced to condescend unto any treatie offensive against France, respiting also upon the successes of the affaires at

Venice, to declare and shew his resolute mynde, touching his entering into a league defensive, which wil be the most that he can be induced unto, and that not without difficultie; for which cause, expedient it shall be that the king and th' emperor; without further tract of time, doe with diligence furnish, provide, and look unto their busines, and in suchwise to presse the Ffrench king earnestly, and not with small prickings, which, as it appeareth, he doth little esteeme, that he may be constrained and enforced otherwise to himself, then hitherto he doth begin. In which matter yee shall declare and shew unto the emperor the kings opinion, consisting in two material points. The first and greatest thing considered by his grace and his counsaile is, that, rememb'ring th' untowardnes and obstynacie of the sayd Ffrench kyng, it is now thought expedient, by all the meanes and wayes possible, to accelerate the p'sonall invasion; and, for that purpose, to devise how in anywise it may be fesible, as well by forbearing and sparing other particular charges, which might sound to the delay and impeachment thereof, as otherwise; for better it shall be once to annoy the com'on enemy with great puissances, which he should not be able to resist, whereby he may be driven to offer and come unto reasonable conditions, than thus, by dryving the time by little and little, to waste and consume treasure, and, in conclusion, no good effect to come thereof: wherefore, if th' emperor and kings grace might be furnished with money, treasure, and other requisites for a mayne and great invasion to be made in their owne p'sons, the sooner the same were done, and put in execution, the rather the com'on enemye should be brought and compelled to speak of another time, and percase some great and notable victory might thereof ensue, to their great honour and profits. Nevertheless, if, for lack of furniture of money and treasure, th' emperor and the kings grace should not now doe the same in their owne p'sons, the next som'er in the yeare next following, by which time it shalbe seene what the Ffrench king will farther doe touching peace; then, it is

thought, a way might be taken for making of an expedition by lieut'ents, the same to invade in such places, taking the yeare before them, and with such fforce and puissance as some notable effect might ensue thereof, and th' enemy enforced to knowledge himselfe: the debating and devising of which matters, by com'on consent, might, in the residue of this summer and the next winter, be practised, com'enced, and concluded, soe that, at the beginning of the next yeare, the same might be executed accordingelie, which is thought a more discrete and prudent way, and better effect shall ensue thereof, then to defer th'enterprises till the som'er be almost spent, as hath bene this present yeare, and as they shall and may be furnished with money, on both sides, for the performance of the p'misses, either by invasion in p'son or by lieut'ents. Necessary shall it be that mutual frank and plain advertisement be made thereof, from time to time, to th' intent that every thing may procede to the honor of both princes, annoyance of the com'on enemy, and eschuing of superfluous and vaine expences as shall app'taine; for, by such dribb'ing warr* as yet hitherto hath been made by the sayd princes, the com'on enemy is rather exalted, contemning, and little or nothing regarding them, then driven to knowledg himself, or come to honest conditions of truce and peace, desiring the continuance of warr in such manner rather than otherwise, supposing therby that the sayd princes shall be impoverished, and he little or nothing damaged or annoyed. And, in case th' emperor and the kings grace cannot be furnished neither to invade in their p'sons nor by their lieut'ents as above, wherein plainnes ought to be used, and all dissimulation or concealment layde aparte; then, by mutual counsaile, it must be devised, how and by what good meanes they may come to an honorable peace, for thus to stand and continue soe long in warr, without doing any notable damage to th' enemy, can neither be to their honor, nor endured by their realmes and subjects.

* Dribbling war!

“The other matter which the kings grace and his counsaile have special respect unto, is this: yee know the full resolution of his grace touching such things as be to be done this yeare, for the answere whereof, and knowledg of th’ emperors mynde in the same, his highnes looketh to be advertised with such diligence, that, giving one months respite after the tyme of the sayd answere, assemble and transport his army, the same may be entred into th’ enemies countries by the middest of August at the furthest; for, as th’ emperor may well consider, if, for lack of such knowledg in time, the whole month of August should, p’adventure, expire before the kings army might be in the field, rayny wether then, in September, daily running on, and the army intended to be sent unto Boleyn, as yee well know, it should not be possible either for the shortnes of time to doe any good there, or also, in that fowle and wet country, to convey back again the artillery and ordnance. Whereof, consequently, should ensue none other but wast and expenses of money, losse of the artillery, and great dishonor; for which cause the king’s pleasure is, that yee, shewing th’ p’mises to th’ emp^r, doe substantially note, whether as well the armies to be prepared on that side may be advanced and entered into the Ffrench kings country before or by the middest of August at the farthest; as, also, that your advertisem^t of the same may come in such time as the kings army, with the sayd one months warning, may doe the semblable on this side: in which case the kings grace is and will be right well contented to follow and p’forme the device and coica’con had thereupon, for the execution whereof nothing, in the meane time, is here p’termitted. Nevertheles, if either the emperors armyes cannot be soe soone ready in those parts, or that his resolution be not soe soon taken, sent, and here arrived, that, with the sayd one month’s warning, the kings army, and the other assistance to be sent unto them out of th’ emperors Low Countrys, may be ready in the field before middest of August, which is as much or more necessary to be done at that time henes, then on that side,

the strength of the countrey, and the great ordnance requisite to be carried, considered. Then it is thought unto the kings grace and his counsaile, that better it were to leave and forbear the sending of any such armies this summer, and to spare the money that should be spent in the same, for the sayd personall invasion, then out of time to advance them, and with losse, reproaches, and damage, to return them. And, in the meane time, th' emperor and the kings grace, standing in meere termes of defence, and providing sufficiently, as well for furniture of their townes, fortresses, and places, as for guarding of the seas with some good and meete shippes, that is to say, th' emperor from the trade along the coast of Spaine, and the king from the trade hither, and soe to the coast of Flanders, and they to look there to the guarding of the sayd quarters: sure they may that not only their countries and subjects shall be well defended, and with small charges in comparison of the other; but also the common enemy, in the meane season, the more wearied, fatigued, and impoverished; whereby, at the time of the sayd personall invasion, they should be of the much better strengthe and habilitie to maynetayne themselves for a great space, which is requisite to be done if any fruite or good effect shall ensue thereof; and to begin in the later end of the yeare, when noe tarrying or abode may be to doe any effectual annoyance to th' enemy. And if p'case it might be thought, that this time were most opportune and convenient, by reason of the duke of Hu—e—hc—, I doubt not but by the time that th' emperor and his counsaile shall have groundly pondered and noted the difficulties contayned before in these my present letters, which p'adventure before were not thought upon, it shall appear that there is not like to grow soe great benefit or com'odity thereof as was esteemed. I require you, therefore, circumspectly and discreetly, to handle this matter with the emperor, taking such direction, by your prudent demonstrations to be made unto him herein, that neither the time in making these

sober warrs against the enemy be thus longer consumed, but that by th' advancement of the sayd p'sonall invasion, this next yeare he may be earnestly handled, as is aforesayd; nor also, that th' enterprises to be done this som'er be soe lately by you there concluded, that for lack of knowledg in the time before limited, the kings grace be driven to advance his army, and people spend his money and time in vayne, and consequently noe good done, but rather reproache, losse, and damage, to be sustayned. And of the emperor's resoluc'on in all and singular the p'misse, with such other knowledge and successes as shall occur in the meane season, I praye you diligently to advertise me from time to time, as the kings grace specially trusteth you.

“ And were in sundry former letters and instructions given unto Mr. Boleyn and you Mr. Sampson, yee were commanded to sollicite and procure the speedy sending into these narrow seas of an army of 3000 men; which thing the kings grace moved and desired, only because at that time the french king prepared a great and puissant army to have bene sett to the sea, intending, if he might, to have been lord of the same; inasmuch as the same french king, upon knowledg had of the kings army by see, put in readynes, which he saw well he was not able to countervaile, hath nowe left of the setting forth and advancement of his sayd great army, not being mynded, as far as the kings grace can learne, to send out the same this yeare. The kings highnes, therefore, having as great respect to the saving of th' emperors charges, as of his owne, and rather more, being mynded to further every thing that may be to the determinac'on of the sayd charges, soe as thereby they may be the more able to make the sayd p'sonall invasion, willeth, that yee shall shew unto his majestie, that for the sayd considerations he shall not neede to put himselfe to charge at this time for sending of the sayd 3000 men, but only to provide for the garding of those seas from the trade along the coast of Spaine, as is aforesayd, soe as the merchants and subjects of both princes and other

their friends may passe to and from out of danger as shall appertaine. And hartily fare yee well. At my place besides Westminster, the third day of July.

“ Your loving frende,

“ T. CARLIS. EBOR.

“ To my loving frende, Mr. Rich. Sampson,
deane of the kings chapple, and sir Richd.
Jernyngham, knight, and kings counsellors
and ambassadors with the emperor.”

No. XVIII.

“ INSTRUCTIONS given by the Kings Highness to his trusty and right welbeloved Counsailours Sir THOMAS BOLAYN, Treasurour of his Housholld, and Doctor SAMPSON, Deane of his Chappell, contayninge such matters and overtures as on the Kings behalf they shall make to the Emperour.

“ First, after right affectuous and cordiall recom'endac'ons in due forme made, and deliveraunce of the kings letters to the said emperor, written with his owne hand, the kinge sayde ambassad^r. shall give unto him right special and most hartie thanks, on the kings behalfe, for that it hath pleased him now of late to advertise his grace in most fraternall loving and faithfull manner, by his ambassadours, of such labours and practises, as the french king hath used, made, and set forth, as well by his owne writinges with ordence, as by other letters from his mother, sister, and chauncellor, to the popes holynesse, in his voyage and journey towards Rome, for peace and abstinence of warr, with the influence made to the emperor by the popes briefes to condescend thereunto; as also by the popes ambassadour resident

in the court of Ffrance, by his writings and instructions addressed to the emperour, with the most prudent and substantiall answers thereunto by him made, declaring, and that plainly and sincerely, not only all such newes as he hath hearde by credible, esp'iall out of France, with the labours and practises that he made by the ffrench king and his mother to reconcile the duke of Burbon; the vertuous and catholique mynde that he is of, by ayde, succours, and assistance, to relieve the Rhodes from the observation and infestac'on of the Turkes, by carracks, gallies, and victualls, by him prepared and put in a readines at Leaur, and in his realmes of Naples and Sicilie, with the diligence that he hath used to all 'xten princes and potestates by his writings, exhorting them to imploy their persons, power, and substances, for relieving thereof; but also shewing, how honorable, chierfully, and obeisantlie, he hath bene recevyed in all places since his arrivall in those his regions and countries, with the submissions of his rebellious subjects to his mercy, remission, and forgiveness; declaring, furthermore, the good arreadiness that he trusteth to be in, for his actual entry into the great voyage against France by the time thereunto prefixed, and of such newes as he hath heard by his ambassador out of Portugal, which is, that the king of that realme intendeth to send unto him a great personage, being in most favor and authority about him, to make a venture of sundry allyances and marriages, and 'specially betwixt his sister and the emperor; whereunto he determined to make answer, that his hands be closed in that matter, by the compensations and treaties passed, sealed, and sworne, betwixt the kings highnes and him, from the purport and contents whereof he will in noe wise disgresse, vary, and alterate; and finally declaring, the decease of the king's ambassador, sir Thomas Spinell, with the honor that he caused to be done unto him in his funeral; desiring to know the kings mynd in all and singular the promises, and marvailing that he hath heard no words from his grace since his departing from England, like as by the copie of th' emperors sayd letters,

addressed to his ambassadors here resident, nowe sent with these presents, the kinges sayde ambassadors shall praye more at length.

“ And as unto the first point, touching the labor made unto the pope by the french king, and the pursuite made by his holynes to the emperor, by his sundry briefes, with his answeere thereunto made and given, which the kinge sayd ambassadors shall also receyve with these presents, they shall, as above, give unto the emperor right especiall thanks ; declaring and shewing, that in this his most loving, constant, and honorable demeanes, his grace accepteth and taketh with singular pleasure, consolation, and comfort : for better answeere the kings highnes could not desire the emperor to make than he did, resting in this effect : That, inasmuch as the kings highnes and the emperor be mutually bound nothinge to treat or conclude with the french kinge, without the expresse consent and assent of both princes jointly together ; therefore, if the said french king be desirous of peace, as he affirmeth to the pope he is, upon his reasonable instance and legall offers to be made joyntly, as well to the king as to the said emperor, for peace, they both pondering the same, shall give unto him such reasonable answeere for the good of peace as may stand with their both honors and indemnities, wherein the emperor hath not only answered to the kings expectation in every point, but also prevented the kings requisition and desire containd in the instructions sent unto the kings sayd ambassador, sir Thomas Spinell, jointly together since their dep'ting from the kings presence ; a copy whereof is also sent unto the kings sayd ambassador, in order to avoid all uncertainties, if th' other be not by them receyved, wherein be containd many thankful words to be spoken to th' emperor for semblable kindnes, which they may use as they shall think good ; and to declare the resolution of the kings mynd towards the said emperor, as well in the pr'sses as in all other matters, with the determinate correspondence that he is of, nothing to treat, practise, or conclude, without his knowledge, expresse consent, and assent. The

kings sayd ambassadors shall shew and deliver, as well the copies of the popes briefes, as of such answeres as the kings highnes hath made to the same briefes addressed to his grace for like purpose, which, in effect, be conformable to the answer made to his holines by the sayd emperour; and it is not to be doubted, but the french king, having perfect notice and knowledge of this fraternall intelligence, fast and constant dealing betwixt th' king and th' emperor, not mynding any thing to do or treat with him without mutual consent; and that they be determyned to continue the warrs against him, both by land and sea, with their mayne powers, will not only seeke all the wayes and meanes for peace, but make instant and reasonable conditions for the same, in avoyding the dangers that may ensue unto hym by perseverance in his high mynde and obstinate purpose. And at this point, the kings sayd ambassadors, in most loving manner, desire th' emperour to continue in this his laudable and friendly determination, making full assurance unto him, on the kings behalfe, that he shall fynde semblable correspondence in his grace, without any varyance, alteration, or change.

“The kings sayd ambassadors shall also thanke the sayd emperour for his familiar advertisement of such newes as he hath heard out of France, and glad his grace is to heare and understand of the base exile and poore estate of the french king*, being destitute of men, and extenuate of substance, soe that there was never better times to sett upon him than now, as the emperors ambassador reporteth; and in case he have moulten the garnishing of St. Martyn's corps, and founded the twelve apostles†, with other jewels and sacred ornaments of the churches; it is to be supposed, that he is not only very neere driven; but also, by such sacriledge, in disgarnishing

* The satisfaction of the english king at the misery of the French.

† The pleasure of Henry in hearing that Francis had been necessitated to commit sacrilege; the melting of the twelve apostles, &c.

of holy places, he shall provoke the indignation of God against him*: and that this his necessity shall cause him more frankly to speake and pursue for peace than he hitherto hath done.

“ And as touching the reconciliation of the duke of Burbon, the kinges sayd ambassador shall touch that matter more amply, according to an article hereafter enseweing in these instructions.

“ On this the kinges sayd ambassador shall, on the kings behalfe, give singular lawds and praise to the emperor for this his vertuous and noble determination, as a most christian and catholique prince, among his other great and marveylous charges, thus to remember the succours of the Rhodes against the malignitie of the Turkes; whereby he shall not only merit and deserve great thanks of God, by meanes whereof he shall the better prosper in all his affaires, exploits, and enterprises; but also thereby acquire great renowne, and attayne much love, amongst all good open people. And they may say also, that if these great matters of the warres by them both commenced against Ffrance were brought to the desired end, and that his realme and puissance were once joined to those parts, that he might now give semblable succours; his grace would not faile to send the same thither, but forthwith, in his owne person, and with all his power and substance, joyne with the sayde emperor in that voyage before all other princes living, trusting within briefe time to see good ground and occasion so to doe, whereof his grace is most desirous.

“ They shall also make congratulations to the emperor in most enjoyn-
ing manner, as well for the most obeysant demeanor and hon^{ble}. allegiance made unto him by his nobles and other of his regions and countryes there, but also of the submission made unto him by his rebellious subjects, which is a manifest signe and token, that all and singular his sayd subjects both

* Hoping that this kind of sacrilege will provoke the indignation of God.

love and dread him, whereupon dependeth the suretie of all princes ; not doubting but by his good and fortunate comencement every thinge shall prosperously succcede to his honor and suretie.

“ And the kings sayd ambassador shall say, that to heare of such good arredines as th’ emperour trusteth to be in for th’ advancement and setting forth the voyage against Ffrance, both with men, substances, and all other things necessarie for the warrs, against the time th’unto prefixed, was to his highness’s singular comfort ; giving unto the emperor speciall thanks, that it pleased him thus plainly and familiarly to advertise his grace, noting special kindness therein ; considering that by the notice and knowledge of the same, the king shall be encouraged more diligently and assuredly to provide and foresee, that every thing may be in like arreadynes for his part against the sayd time, whereupon his grace shall not fault to endeavour himself after his best power.

“ The kings sayde ambassador must also, on the kings behalfe, specially thanke th’ emperour for such advertisements as he willed his ambassador to shew and declare to his grace, touching as well the coming of an ambassador out of Portugal, with the charge that he hath to declare unto him, touching his marriage and other alliance, as also th’ answere that he intendeth to make to the sayd ambassadors when overture shall be by them made for his sayd marriage*, which is soe vertuous, hon’ble, and reasonable, that a better or more covenable cannot be thought or devised to be made ; and, by the same, the sayd emperour declareth, more and more, the most laudable determination, that he hath always been and is of towards th’ observance of his covenants and promises, which is one of the highest vertues appertaining to a noble prince ; making assurance unto the emperor, on the kings behalfe, with as good words as they can devise, that the kings highness, for his part,

* The king could not therefore be satisfied when the marriage of the princess of Portugal took place.

shall be as constant and perseverant in his faith, and all manner of promises made unto him, without any manner of change, alteration, or variance.

“ On this the kinges sayd ambassador shall not omitt to thanke th’ emperor for the great honor by him shewed and made at the funeral of his servant and ambassador, sir Thomas Spinell, wherein his grace noteth singular kindness; perceiving well, by soe great humanity shewed to his servant, the perfect love and sincere amity that he beareth to himselfe, which his grace shall not putt in oblivion.

“ By the discourse of these instructions, the kinges sayde ambassadors may perceave such answers as on the kinges behalfe they shall make to th’ emperor, upon the overtures made by his ambassadors to the kinges highnes; now following are such newes and other charges as they shall declare unto him from the king.

“ And, first, they shall declare and shew, that his grace is informed sundry wises, and specially by such advertisements as were lately given to the kinges admirall by Mons^r. de Bruwayn, that the duke of Burbon, not being contented with the inordinate and sensuall governance that is used by the ffrench king, is much inclined, and in manner determyned, to reforme and redresse the insolent demeaner of the sayd king, and such other indiscrete and light counsalors as have induced him to this great folly and danger that he now standeth in, as well by losse of such lands, dominions, and seigniories, as he possessed outwardly; as also the impoverishing, and in manner destruction, of his realme, whereby the same is putt in point of perdition; mynding, therefore, not only to have alliance with th’ emperor by marriage of one of his sisters, but also, if the same may be assuredly promised to take effect, to joine with the king and th’ emperor with his strength and power, at such times as they shall make actual warr with Ffrance; and although this overture hath been oftentimes made to Mons^r. Bruwayn heretofore, yet it was now of late renewed under colour of a subtle and craftie practise by a

captaine, being now in Tyrwyn, named Mons^r. de Cares, cousin germain to the sayd duke, who sent forth among others a servant of his, willing him to put himself soe farr in presse, that he might be taken among the company of Mons^r. de Bruwayn*, giving warning before to the said Mons^r. de Bruwayn; which servant, so being taken, disclosed the whole matter in forme above specified, whereunto he made the kings admyral privie; and, inas-much as the matter is of great weight and importance, whereof many great effects may ensue, if it be truly meant and intended, without frawde and simulac'on, and politiquely sett forth, therefore the kings highness thought right expedient to advertize th' emperor thereof, albeit he supposeth, that certificate is made thereof unto him before, to th' intent that the sayd emperor, according to th' importance thereof, may order the same after his great wisdom, as he shall think good. And albeit, at the first overture of this matter, made on the behalfe of the duke of Burbon, he would in noe wise that any mention should be made of the kings highnes, yet the sayd duke, now perceyving the strength and neere communication betwixt and the emperor, and th' one will doe nothing without th' other; considering also that the king hath title to the crowne of Ffrance; the same duke was contented it should be notified unto the kings highnes, promising to joine with the king† and the said emperor, with 500 men of arms, and 8 or 10,000 footmen, at such time as they shall enter Ffrance; promising, furthermore, that in case he may attaine the sayd alliance and marriage with th' emperors sister, or have conformable answer of the same, to send into Savoy his chauncellor to some certain place, with sufficient and ample authority there to communicate, treat, and conclude, with such personages as shall be

* The defection of the duke of Bourbon to Francis I., and the circumstance of the proposal to the allies.

† The duke of Bourbon's proposed aid.

thither sent by the kings highness and the sayd emperor upon the promises, and binde him by his great seale to the performance thereof, so that he may have answere of the promises before Candlemas next coming; for which purpose the kings grace thinketh right expedient, that th' emperor should send thither Mons^r. de Bruwyn in habite dissimuled, with authority, power, and instructions sufficient, like as the kings highnes shall authorise some convenable person semblably to doe for his part. And the kings sayd ambassadors shall sollicite to the speedy setting forth of this matter, shewing and declaring the great importance thereof; which, with the invasion made by both the princes in their persons, implyeth the total ruyene of the realme of France; for it is not to be doubted that the sayd duke of Burbon, taking part with th' emperor and the king, being so greatly esteemed in France, shall draw unto his opinion the most part of the nobles, not being contented with the kings wayes that now is; whereof the sayd duke of likely good hath probable conjecture; or else he would not enter so deeply in this matter as he nowe hath done, for as much as upon the same dependeth his life, honor, and substance. And if there be any other thing tending to th' advancement and furtherance of the sayd matter, wherein th' emperor shall think the king's grace may doe any good, he shall refuse no paine, labour, or travaile, to doe it: the same to be disclosed to th' emperor in secret manner, between him and you only. And move th' emperor so to keepe the promises accordingly.

“ There was also now of late a matter of right weighty importance disclosed by the lady Margarett to sir Robert Wingfield, in great secrecy, to be notified unto the kings highnes, which in effect was this: that the king of Portugall had not only determined to send a great man, being in most authority about him, to th' emperor, but also the quene of Portugall, with the kings sister, who is named a marvelous faire lady, to accompany her to his presence. And, forasmuch as it is doubtfull what has been treated in Portugall by Mons^r de la Shawe, and that the sight of soe faire a lady,

being at mature age, with the dote of 800,000 ducats, and the inclination of the nobles of Spaine, might be a great temptation to th' emp^r, he being also of his flourishing youth; therefore he thinketh right expedient that the king should take a right vigilant eye therunto in avoyding the alteration of purpose by blindness of love *, which oftentimes not only breaks the lawes of man but also the lawes of God. And albeit th' emperor, among other overtures made unto the kings highnes by his ambassadors, expressly affirmeth that he wil kepe his promise, and not only declare that his hands be closed in that matter, but also that he will give noe hearing to such enchantments, yet right necessary it is yee be vigilant and inquisitive, as well to know what is compassed, devised, and spoken therein, as by policy to insearch th' emperor's mynde upon the same, and allways to put him in remembrance of the alliance with the king's grace, inducing him, by discrete words, to be uttered without any suspic'on, to observe and keepe his convenc'ons and promises made in that behalfe; and, by politique persuasion, to confirme him in the same; making certificate unto the kings highnes in * * * * with diligence, of such things as ye shall perceiue, understand, and know therein, from time to time.

"Among other matters to be declared to the emperor, expedient shall it be that the kings sayd ambassadors signified unto hym, that his grace is advertised how such practises be made and used by the frensh king with the Swisses, that he hath gotten graunt of all the Cantons to serve him this next summer for the recovery of the *duchy* of Mylayn, which thing, if it be true, and the Venetians * * * fall in and joyne with the french king, the *duchie* of Mylayn shall be in greater danger; wherefore wisdom and policy shall it be to drawe the Venetians to th' emperors party, dissevering them from the french king; for it is to be thought that the french king shall not recover

* Politicians describe love.

Mylayn, though he shall have the Swisses, without their assistance. Wherefore the king thinketh that the said Venetians should be treated with, and induced with all diligence to agree with th' emperor in this present tyme; by great demands, not to be discouraged. And the king also hath laboured the matter as well to the ambassador of the seniorye here as with his orator there, that in case they may attaine, upon reasonable conditions, peace with the sayd emperor, they will not only shew themselves conformable thereunto, but also binde themselves not to take part with the frensh king, directly or indirectly, in the meane tyme, like as the orator of the seigniory here resident hath expressly affirmed to the kings highnes and the lord cardinall. The matter, therefore, being of soe great consequence, it is not to be slacked, but set forward with all spedie diligence; for the advancement whereof the king, and the said lord cardinall, should doe as much as they can or may.

“The kings sayd ambassadors shall also shew that, albeit the duke of Albany, and all the nobles of Scotland, by the mediation of the queen of Scotts, the kings sister, procured and instantly desired to have truce and abstinence of warre at such tyme as they perceyved the king's puissant army in a readynes to give them battle at their entrie to this land, promising forthwith to send ho'ble personages to the kings holynes to pursue for peace; which truce was then graunted at the instance of the sayd quene *. Yet, when they had perfect knowledge that the kings sayd army was returned and discharged, the sayd duke refused either to entertain the sayd truce, or yet to send, unless the kings highnes will be contented to comprise the french king therein. Which thing was demanded in so presumptuous, prowde, and haughtie manner, that marveile it was they were not ashamed so falsely to digresse from their promisses, written, signed, and sealed, like as by the copy of the duke of Albanyes intructions, which is now sent by the kings said ambassa-

* Scotch affairs.

dors, with th' answeres th'unto, made as well to the queene as to the said duke, by the lord legate and cardinall, they may perceive more at length, which it is the kings pleasure they shall declare and shew to the sayd emperor; whereby he may perceive the untruth, inconstant and variaunt demeanor, of the sayd Scotts, neither observing conven'ion, oath, nor promise. Howbeit the kings grace proposeth this winter to make such preparations and provisions for them, that in the beginning of February, when is their sowing times, they shall repent this their untrue and double dealing.

"On this the king doubteth not but that the emperor hath been advised by his captaines, long before this time, of such exploits, excurses, damages, and plunders, that their both armyes have done to the frenchmen in Picardy; the like whereof was not done in France this hundred yeares in soe short space; and more shuld have bene done if the winter, with great raines, stormy weather, and unfavorable lying in the ffield, had not soe soon approached, by reason whereof the king was inforced to returne his armye. Nevertheles his grace hath left there, to lie on the emperors borders, for the defence of the same, 200 men of armes and 1000 fotmen, at his own proper cost and charges, over and besides other 2000 men left on the kings marches for like purpose.

"Furthermore, the kings sayd ambass^r may, at convenient tyme, shew unto the emperor, in good and pleasant manner, that, albeit, Lascano, with his navy, hath been here long lying in these parts; yet, what for lack of money, wages, and victual, they could not tarry on the sea for doing any annoyance to the com'on enemye. And now of late, when the kings highnes's were dispersed in the sea by marvailous great stormes, and disgarnished of their masts, arrows, and all other tackling, in right much danger; yet the sayd navy of Spaine was so far out of a readines that they with much difficulty could start some fewe or none of their shippes to the sea, to joine with such of the kings shippes as were able to pass forthe, for th'impeachm^t of

the frenchmen's f....ing; so that they, being here unperceyved of things necessary, hath been frustrate and in vaine. Desiring, therefore, th'emperor so to provide hereafter, that they may have all things necessary for their enter-taynment, ells shall they be enforced to lie in the havens, and doe noe good.

" Finally, forasmuch as the ciphers which sir Thomas Spynell (whose soule God pardon!) had, have come to the hands of sundry persons since his decease, soe that damage might ensue, by the disclosing of seacrets, unles a new cipher were provided; therefore the kings highness, by the advice of his counsaile, hath not only conceyved and made such a cipher, but also sent the same, by his seryeaunt, this bearer; who is purposely sent only for the sure deliverance of them to his said ambassadours; by which ciphers they may have knowledge in the contents of such articles as shall be written in ciphers to them at any time hereafter.

HENRY."

No. XIX.

" Extract of Letters sent to my LORD CARDINAL, in Cifres, by Mr. (i. e. SIR THO^s) BOLEYNE and Mr. (DOCTOR RICHARD) SAMPSON; dated at Valledolite, the 8th day of Merche 1523.

" Please it your grace, the xiiijth day of February arryved the emperors post here, w^t letters from your grace to us. The date is to us unknown, for it was not added. We receyved also the copy of th'emperors letters to his ambassadors ther; letters to * * * * *; copies of letters and of instructions to the same; the cotype of letter from yo^r grace to the pope holynes; and a bill of memorye for * * * * and for the comision of the same. We

sent an english merchant the next day that was here w^t us, for the maner of their * * * * * in these p'ties, w^t diligence to sollicite the ...nc'sion of theym.

"The 9th day we were writing th'emperors majesty, declaring to him and his counsel all the effect of our charge; first, as we had shewed to his majesty the great gladnes and joy, that the kings highnes hath of his prudent demean towards his subjects, and also for the *discovery*, fynding of the *islands* and countreys that shall hereafter redounde so moche to his profit *; thanking his majesty also for his constant and stedfast demean in th'obser'ac'on of all his p'myses and com'd'mte to lesse p'm'sing to his majesty, for the ease of the king's highnes; shewing him also the joy that the kings highnes had of the good towardnes against the frenshmen, touching Fountrabye; and that, knowing the contrary *would*, w^tout faile, both to the kings highnes and yo^r grace, it be very displeasent. To theis, first, his majesty geveth great thanks, both to the kings highnes and your grace, of such a singular and favorable mynde, which he hath no manner of doubt. And moreover, like as at all tymes he hath done assuredly * * * * * to observe all convenc'ons * * * * * * * * And in case ther were no convenc'ons, yet he wold be desyrous at all tymes to employe his goods and p'son for the kings highnes.

"And as touching the th'rd point and article of the most great importance at this time, because the words in yo^r graces letters were so well cowched, that ells they could not be spoken or declared so substantially, we brought all the hole article with us in frence, and so redd it to the emperors majesty; the effect of the same, as we by his answers perceived, well he knew before our comyng.

"And in effect his answer was, that the kings highnes also should make a puissant armye to invade France in those p'ties †, for his majesty, either

* Relative to american discoveries.

† The french war. It appears by this letter that it was necessary to urge Charles in the war.

in the beginning of May, or, at farthest, by the latter end of the same month, God willing, intendeth to have an armye in the field, with the lest of xx M fotmen and iiij M light horses. Moreover, seeing that his armye shuld be so puissant that he wold at all tymes be content to be with them in his own p'son; and, whether that he wold or not, yet he was not determyned.

"And as, touching the iiij M men from hens by the see, he wold concur with his counsel, and so give us answer; notwithstanding, he sayd, that he had many costs of the sees to defende for his p'tie. And we, the rather to induce hym, amongst other words in the debating of this matter, shewed his majesty, that th'affaires against the comyn enemye were also both in hono^r and displeasure, so that whersoever the pressure of the comyn enemye, either by land or see, might be oppressed, it was both their honor and profit to employe their puissance that waye; and, for so moche as all the strength of the French king, by the sees, is oonly in those parts, it was mostly to be considered, and in no manner of worst to be neglected the resystens against the same.

"Moreover we shewed what both honor and necessarye effytte hit shuld be, to give the sure and free passage by the sees; and that the comyn enemye shall not dare advance his puissance and enterprize by the see.

"But, to shewe yo^r grace the trouthe, as we might give at the dispatching of Blewmantell from hens, they were here very cold to th'advauce of any warres, as yo^r grace p'ceyveth by the same letters at lengthe; and, sens that the trust of Fountraby is past, as it is thought here to their dishonour not a litle, the noblemen of these countreys, and the comyns also, hath offered very largely to the maneteyning of the warre *, so that, vj or viij daies after the revictualling of Fountrabye, the advancem^t of the same was very hot

* The Spaniards seem to have entered with spirit into this war.

and fermet. And daily the great lords of Spaine were with his majesty, som offred x . . men of armes, of their own charge, after the man' of Spayne, some lesse, after their abilities, and divers towns hath offered, for vj months, ij m fotmen of their own charge, or one thousand for a hole yere; for every one of theym whereof this town is one * * * * * with many other lik; so that men, either of fot or horse, he shall not want.

“ But, because we should not think him to the warre this willing, for so much that all this he should have w'toute any his owne charge, his majesty shewed us that, over and above all this, he maketh for xij or xiiij * * * * * ducats to be spent in the same warre, for his owne charge in the entertaining Almains and other horsemen, that he intendeth to have of his own. And this money to be levied upon certain his revenues, that now his majesty selleth to some great personage for the same purpose. And the chaunceler shewed us that he thought the * * * * * should be made under this manner; the emperor to the som of * * ducats, shuld sell now to the said personage; so that, when he shall have money to redeem the same, it shall be restored again, losing v in the c. And the said personage in the mean time to enjoye the same revenues. And the money for the redempcion of this within ij or iij yeres th'emperor trusteth to have of a crusado, that he thinketh nowe to have of the pope, and by other means.

“ His majesty liketh very well your l'res to the pope, and the instruccions for the same, saving that the xvth day we were again with his majesty, both because it was Sunday, and also that either that day or the next we should depart from hens towards Spayne; wherefore we beseeched his majesty to know if there were any other thing of his pleasure concerning the said letters and instructions. His ma'ty sayde that all was very well, except that it might be suffred every p'tye to appryse his alyes in the same treyne, for he wold comprise and other his friends. And so he willed us to writ to the kings ambassadors at Rome, all as we have done, according to th'emp'ors

pleasure, and y^r graces letters to 'ay Haduyball. And from hehs the xv^jth day departed a gentleman, with spede, towards Rome, with your graces said l^res, and other affairs from the emperors majesty. The emperors majesty also hath sent sufficient power to his ambassadors to Rome; and if it were so the kings pleasure and yours, he thinketh it good, that in like manner with spede a power might be sent to the kings ambassadors ther, because that the emperors ambassadors, by his instruccions, may nothing doo but jointly with the kings ambassador.

“ We p^ceyve that here they m^vaile that in their last letter no mention was made of the duke of Bourbon. We said as we thought that, because you wayted ev^ry houre of an answer of the same, by the express messeg that was sent hither, for the same intent there was no mencion in their l^res of it, till th^eemperors further pleasure might be known.

“ The emperors ma^ty shewed us that now it was, as he thought, in better trayn than ever before; and yet in France now it is detected, for th^eemperor shewed us that the duke came to Parys; and, comyng to the court at the time of dinner, the queen commanded hym to sit at her borde, for the kyng and she dynded apart that day. The kyng hering of his being ther, the more shortly ended his dinner, and came to the queens chamber. The duke, seeing the queene, was rising to do his duty. The king commanded him to sitt, and not to rise from his dinner; and they saluted him with these words, ‘ Rem^r it is shewed us that you be or shall be maryed. Is it truthe?’ The duke sayd, it was not so. They sayd, that he kn^ew it was so. Moreover, saying, that he would remember it; and that he knew his trafike with th^eempor^r; often repeting, that he wo^d rem^rber it. The duke answerd and sayd, ‘ then you manase and threte me. I have deserved no such cause.’ And so departed *. And after dinner the duke went to his

* The circumstance of the quarrel of the duke of Bourbon with Francis I.

lodging, and all the noblemen of the court w^t. him, the next day retired from the court to his country, we say, that the kyng spake so much. It was m^vaile that he suffered the duke to depart; the emperor sayd, he durst not otherwise do for all the great p^sonages so favored him.

“And as touching the french kings entent against the lowe countrys, the emperor saithe, that he hath knowledge that all his intention is to invade Milans, especially since the revictualling of Fountrabye.

“The xvij day we sent to the chanceler, praying him to have the expedition of these matters in remembrance; he sent us an answer that shortly and well it should be dispatched.

“The xixth. day, we were with Mons^r. de Nassau, shewing him, that after the emperors ma^ty, the kyngs trust was most specyally in hym; wherfore we prayed him to have his good ayde for the speedy dispatching of these matters. We had of him very kind answer, that no man should be more desirous to do the kings highness service than he, whereof he might be right well assured; and that he would forward the expedition of this or any other to his power. And in this conversⁱon he graunted, that the expedition of Blewmantell was much longer deferred than was expedient, so that now they repent the loss of that tyme; but the causes of the longe delayes we know no more than we have noticed in the letters by the said Blewmantell.

“Nowe the great lords of Spaine be every day with th^e emperor, and as Mons^r. de Nassa saith*, they make long tales and little speed; the truth is, that before this tyme they were never called to no counsell, either great or small, that we might know more than * * * * * and oon called Hornado was a small personage of estimation, and yet we p^rceive not very moche love betwixt the noblemen of Spayne and Flanders, neither by any familiarity or honorable reports th^eone of th^eother†.

* Character of the spanish council of state.

† The Spaniards and Flemmings not content with each other.

"The xxj day we were with th' emperors majesty humbly beseeching him to have th'expedition of these matters in rememb^{ce}*, especially for the ships, because the time was so short, and for the want of them in time, great dishonour and damage might ensue, as well to his majesty as to the kings highnes, if the frenchmen should be lords of the sees; his majesty sayde; that the next day he should send for us, and w^t. diligence dispatch all things. The great master shewed us likewise the same day, that the matters were well concluded, and with diligence should be put in execution. Mons^r. de la * * * * he shewed us the same, notwithstanding this is the xxviiiijth. day, and yet we have no knowledge; daily the noblemen of Spayn be with the emperor†, wherefore we think the long debating is to have all things certain, which causeth these delayes. We shall omytte no diligence with Gods helpe. This day th' emperor hath here the remaining, and * * * of the * * * * * with about iiij horses of bothe p'ties; his own p'son is also o'on.

"The xxth. day the ambassadors of Milains, this morning the dukes kinsman, was with us delivering to us letters of recommendation from the duke‡, and, amongst other conference, in effecte their only entent was to solicit for money of the kings highnes towards the defence of Mylains.

"The xxvijth. day, we were both with Mons^r. de Nassa, and the great master, praying them to have the speedy expedition of these matters in rememb^{ce}. as the kyngs special trust was in theym, and of them bothe we had very good words.

"The xxviiiijth. day we were with the chanceler, and he shewed us that all things were now put in writing with spede to be put in execution; more-

* Renewed urging of Charles in the war.

† The dilatory debates of the spanish council.

‡ A deputation from Milan for english money.

over saying, that the emperor, with all celeryte, was determined to have a puissant armye in France in these parts, and out of Aragon also vij or viij M fotmen, with * * * men of armes, on that side ; and for the defence of Italye, his majesty hath before sent * * * floryns of golde, and now will send yet oon * * * ducats both to levye and entertyn an armye ther. Into Fland's also his majesty sendeth oon * * * ducats from hens, not doubting but this shall encourage thym of the countrys ther to be willing contributors for such a suff^t. armye that shall defende those parts.

“ And as touching th^r advice for the emperors broder, they think it of non effect, except that he have money to levye, and put some men in a redynes ther for a siege of warre ; wherfore it shall be necessary, that he have money also from the emperor, so that th^r emperor shall be at infinite charge.

“ And upon the sees the chanceler saith, that certain shippes of Spayn shall be joined with other shippes of France, as well for the defence of the sees Meditteranean, as also to give force to Milains, if need shall require.

“ And as touching the iij M men by the sees of these costs, w^t. sped^e they shal be put in a redynes, but to make their discoveries on these costs, and not to come upon the canal betwixt England and France to joyn with the kings ships ; and thus doing, he saith that th^r emperor both signeth the treatye, and also shall more and more anoye the comyn enemye, than there to be joined by the kings shippes *. And in this matier, though we had been continually with the chanceler, persuaide that the said iij M men might be sent into those p^{ts}. ; yet it availed nothing, for it was before det^rmyed ; as we shewed the chanceler, too grett m^vaile, and much more it should be to the kings highnes and your grace, when you shall know the refusal of so little ayde in the co^per^con of the iij M that the kings highnes shal have for the

* Little disposition in the Spaniards to co-operate with the English. .

same entente. But whatsoever that we might do or saye, other comforte we had none of the chanceler, but that the kyng should keep those sees, and th'emperor thees costs; and, perceiving this their determination, we sayde, that in the debating and concluding of theis matiers, the kings highnes wanted some oon friende for his p'tie that might have shewed the reasonable consons.

"Moreover the chanceler sayde, that the kings highnes employed all his puissance nothing against the comyn enemye, but to his particular profite against the Scots; showing us in this behalf much more than we knew, that the kings highnes had x M men, my lord admiral xxx M, my lord of Suffolk xxx M, and as for the xij M by the see, was also for other par'lar defence, like th'other iiij M into Scotland.

"And though that we shewed him, that over this the king had also an armye to be sent on the see to joyn with the emperor, and moreover, that it was verily thought this year, that the emperor wold make no warre, like as he was fully determind till now w'tin these xix or xx daies since the revictualing of Fountraby, with many other reasons that we layde . . 'tie, the whiche all notwithstanding, we assure y^r. grace there is no other trust here yet. And so they be determyned, that any reason to the contrary is nothing herd. And by what reason or report we know not * * *, but of trouthe since the comyng of Mons^r. de la Souche, receyved a change not finale in our operations, as y^r. grace may well understand, by the determinations before expressed; notw'standing we trust, that by y^r. great wisdom all shall be well repayed again; and by your * * * * * we think that one great cause is for the refusal of the * * * flornse, for the enterteyning of the * * * * * or Al-mains, for the defence of Milayn; for the greatest studye that we may perceive there is for the preservacion of that and assuryd defens, they esteme it so highly, both for the emperors honor and co'tinuation of his other dominions.

" The first day of Merche we were with the emperors majesty, and in effecte the same answer we had that before is expressed, saving that his majesty sayde, that dailly he might have knowledge from the king his brother by * * * * or other litle shippes; and if he be required for any good enterprise, he shall be content that the said iiijm men joyne with the kings navye; and we shewed his ma'ty, that now it was thought the greatest enterprise that might be against the whole fleet of France, yet at this tyme then wil be nothing.

" And to this offer we enforced hym with our debating for the kings p'tie. Moreover, his majesty sayde, that in case he should send his shippes into those parts, the Frenchmen wol leave any enterprise there, and invade his countries here destitute of ayde, which reason we pressed his ma'ty all that we might, but for this tyme there is non other remedy.

" His majesty sayde also, that it wol be far in Aprill before that these men should be redy to the sees.

" And, as we may p'ceve, since the emperor is now determyned to send these armyes furth into France*, their mynde is, that the kings highnes shulde likewise advance another armye against the comon enemye, the surer to press him on both p'ties; and so expressly th' emperor sayd to us, that notwithstanding the jo'ing against the Scotts, yet the kyng his brother might send the armye that is committed to my lord of Suffolk into France, or some other good armye. To this we said, that the kings highnes yet knoweth nothing that his majesty is minded to any invasion of warre this yeare; and yet in these last letters his highnes doth offre an armye to joine with his armye in Flanders of his own mynde.

" But, as we have before written, we think that the refusal of the said * * * florens, as they think for so little a som, hath not best advanced the

* The campaign projected.

kings affairs here; and this we perceive daily by general words, both of the chancellor, the popes nuncio, the orator of Milans, and others.

“ And because we think it our very duty to advertise y^r. grace of such things as we perceive that may touche your grace* ; truth it is, that they think your grace sometimes very sore in words to th’ ambassadors there, the whiche, as is reported, they take not here in the best part. Mons^r. de Nassa shewed us, that on day y^r. grace said you wold th’ emperor should shew the money in hand for the great expedition†, like as the kings highnes shall for his part, otherwise you would believe nothing that the emperor should or might do; and that y^r. grace should have sayd other words, the w^{ch}. he would not rehearse; and would they had not been spoken. The chancellor also sayd, that y^r. grace should saye that the emperor observed not his promises and treaty, the w^{ch}. they take in y^{ll} part, and as it seemeth also is not best reported, one thing is, that nowe they will here nothing of imbecillite, but that if it be the emperors pleasure at all tymes, he may accomplish moche more than he hath promised, for they wold nether here spoke that he shall not be able to accomplish the great expedition, or not be able to defend his own countries‡; the which they esteeme greatly to the estimation of his honor. Wherefore, as we perceive and think, it is this thing only that moveth theym.

“ As touching the p’mision of the gonnes, we sent with spede, as we have written, into Biskey; and we have this answer, that non be there ready made, nor yet before the latter end of Aprill they wold make no promise to have theym ready; and in case they were now in redynes, it is truthe that we can have no money here, either of english merchants or this country.

“ The estimate it shuld come to the som of about * * ducats, the english merchants by their letters have answered plainly, that now they have no

* Observations on the sarcastic severity of the cardinal to the foreign ministers. Evidently justly called for by the selfish duplicity of their courts,

† The cardinal’s suspicion of the integrity of Charles very openly spoken.

‡ Senseless pride of the Spaniards.

money in store. And they say that such money as they lent to us lately, for the necessarye re-victualling of the kings shippes at La redo, with * * ducats that they lent to * * * Hadnyball, the kings orator, they neither have repayde, as they say to their great losse, nor yet may have any sure answer for the re-payment.

"The merchants of these parts say that, by the causes of warre, they have no such trade into England as otherwise they were accustomed to have, so that, withoute faile, we can fynde no remedy here.

"Pleas it y^r grace, the 1st day of M^che we dep^ted from th^e emp^r, trusting for this tyme of non other answer than is before expressed; notwithstanding the vijth day we were again w^t his majesty, to know if it were his pleasure to command us any other thing, signyfying also, that our purpose was to send the Harauld into England with our letters. And first, his majesty sayde that all this wynt^r ther hath been neither zabar nor other shipp for the kings p^tie, but only of his to passe and repasse w^t l^res, wherof he moche m^vailed; except one shipp that lately come over w^t Blewmatell, wherof he payde the half more than one hole zabar shuld have cost hym, for the hole money going and coming; and of this we have written in our former letters to y^r grace, that dyvers tymes both the chanceler and other hath spoken of it largely, and now the empe^r very especially.

"And other things have not we to answer in it, but that the kings highnes wolde provide for such as he shall sende; nev^thⁱles we shall not, because of this demand. The emperor also said that the kings highnes had now sent for ij or iij zebars, the which he wold right shortly send. To this we sayde, that truthe it was the kings highnes required of his majesty ij or iij zebars, but to be sent w^t the iij M men, and the other shippes, if it so pleased his majesty, the kings highnes wold think much kindnes, and that was the special thing that we required. The emperor sayde that he * * * wold send the said shippes, w^t the iij M men, to join with the kings shippes according to our

desire. Then we beseeched his majesty to know his pleasure in that ; for, according to his words the day before, we had written the contrary, and now we should change our l^res. His majesty said that he had so written to his ambassadors not to send them into the narrow sees, notwithstanding he is otherwise mynded, and will refuse nothing that he may do towards the kings highnes, tho' it we^d sayde openly to his ambass^r in England that he observeth not his promise and treaty, and by the treaty he is bound to no more but to have his shippes upon the sees against the comyn enemye, to make the discoveries, and if he wold consent to join w^t the kings shippes. Moreover saying, with as good words and countenance as might be, that with the king he wo^d nev^r debate the extreme words of the treaty ; but, beyond all treatyes that may be written, for the singular and cordial love that he bereth towards the kings highnes, the which shall not faile enduring his life, the kyngs highnes may be right sure of hym to do hym all honor and profit that he may do, shall not at any tyme fayle ; and, though that in a little thyng of the treatye sometye he shall offend, he is both able, and will not fayle, in a great thinge, that by the treatye may be required of hym to recompence it.

“ We beseeched his ma^ty to know when the shippes might be in redynes, and if that we might assure the kings highnes and y^r grace that they shalbe sent to come w^t the kings shippes. And to this his majesty sayde, that he could promise no certain tyme, but w^t spede they should be put in a redynes, nor yet he would promise assuredly to send them, but his entente is to send them to join w^t the kings shippes ; and, in case they have no great necessity here in these p^ts, as he trusteth not to have, he will send them w^t diligence, the whiche we shall sollicite by all the meanes that we may. From this his majesty passed to the warres this yere ; first shewing us that, w^t diligence, he must have x m Almains for the defence of Milain, with other great chargs for Flaund's, and other places, as we have written before ; and also,

that he will have yet anoder bodie of Almaines into these parts, trusting that the kings highnes will also have some good puissante armye with spede in France against the comyn enemie, the more extremely to press the comyn enemie to some good purpose, for nowe, som tyme in May, he will have viij or xii fotmen Spaniards with his Almaines, and ij or iijc men of armes, w^t one thousand light horses, to invade these parts of France; having also, if it shall be thought necessarye or expedient, at all tymes another good number, both of horsemen and fotmen, to reinforce his armye, for, as we may p^rceyve, and by th^e emperors words also, nowe both the noblemen nowe of Spaine, w^t the cities and commons, be so well mynded, that he shall neither want horsemen of the nobles, nor fotmen of the towns and comynes, but that they offer much more than he woll desyr to have.

“ And his majesty willed us to write, also, to the kings highnes and your grace, that he (and as we may perceive by th^e advice of his counsel) think it very expedient that, bothe in the kings armye there, and in his armye here, for the kings highnes, there shold be in redynes some personage that shall have full power and ample instructions; for it may chance that some one, other the kings armye there, or his armye here, may have such offres of the comyn enemie, that for nothing wold be omitted or deferred. And such person his ma^ty intendeth to send into those parts.

“ And as touching the great expedition, both th^e emperors ma^ty hath shewed us, and other also of his counsell, that, from the beginn^g of May next to the end of September next following, the treasurer of the finances hath assured him of * * * thousand ducats, over and above divers other means, whereof he shall also levye some good somes of money; and, as we have sayde, he is like to want no assistance of his countries.

“ Notwithstanding, he thinketh that it shall not be necessarye to have so great a puissance as is expressed in the treatye; and yet he intendeth to have such an armye that, in his opinion, shall be able for oon day to give bataile

to the hole puissance of France, and he in p'son cold be content there to be present w^t them. And, especially, he sayde that his intent is to have **xxm** fotemens, **iiijc** men of armes after the manner of Spayne, and **ijc** light horses. Nevertheles, in theis and all other his affaires, he will have the advice of the kings highnes.

"We find here both mons^r de Nassa and the great master especiall good in the kings affaires, like as we have now written also to the kings highnes. Wherefore we have humbly beseeched his highnes that we may have his graces pres of thanks to theym, that both they shall the rather continue in the same, as we doubt not they will; and, also, it shall augment their said mynde.

"The emperors majesty hathe assuryde knowledge that mons^r de Beawrayn is landed here in Spayn, and, within these v daies or vi, wol be here. Notwithstanding, we tho^t it not best to retain the harald for that purpose, for it is thought the emperor, for such news as he shall bring, will shortly dispatch a post.

As knoweth our Lord, &c.

At Walladolye, the viijth day of M'che.

BOOK IV.

No. I.

[The following extract is curious both as a piece of antiquity, and for the freedom with which it is written. Even in the time of Henry VIII. Englishmen spoke their minds, and were permitted to do so.]

A Booke of Orders for the warre, both by sea and land, written by THOMAS AUDELEY, at the com'and of KING HENRY THE VIII.

“Orders to be used in the warres on the land.

“It may please your most excellent majestie, I doe perceive that your highnes pleasure is to knowe myne opinion as touching the orders of men for the warres. I shall most humblie desire your most excellent majestie to consider my small experience and unablenes to instruct so noble a king as your majestie is, and to take in good part my good will, althoughe my doeings and knowledge be not for good, as other mens of more experience and knowledge than I am.

“Wherefore I would wish that your majestie should have divers mens opinions, as well strangers as Englishe, and not to credite over much in one man, neither in two, lest, peradventure, they one or twoe men may think they doe well in some things when it is not soe; I meane this myselke, w'ch knowe my owne infirmitie and ignorance of this thing.

“And God forbid but your highnes should be instructed by men of most knowledge and experience; and this, I dare say it is enough for the whole

wise heads of anie realme, Christianes, to make a good discourse for the orders of battell, both for horsemen and footmen, for I never mett with any soldier, of what soever nation, but if he had knowledge in one thing, or diverse things, yet he was ignorant in some other things. Wherefore, it is good to have divers mens opinions, and to conferre them together and to take the best; and surelie I think, in myn oppinion, the devisions of weapons, and placing of them, is the chiefe strength of all battells, both on horsebacke and on foote, for, if you have too manie of one kind of weapon and too fewe of another, when you shall come to the setting of the battell, you shall find a greate weakenes by the reason thereof, and the remedie thereof is easie to be had; for lett every standard be like appointed to soe many shots, to soe many pikes, and soe many bills; then shall your armie of footemen be in good order: likewise for your standard on horsebacke, cause every standard to have soe many men of armes barded, and soe many men of armes unbarded, and soe many light horsemen; then shall you have a good order for the whole battell through your whole armie.

“And if you have any light horses to every standard, as me thinketh it necessarie, then must you have for your light horse a guidon; for if you send out of your horsemen to doe any enterprise, and send not forth your whole bands, then may you in noe wise send forth your standard, for if a standard be overthrowne, it is accompted a great dishonour; but if a guidon be overthrowne, it is accompted, in manner, noe dishonour at all, for com'onlie the guidon goeth forthe with small numbers; but if the standard be presented, tho' he have but xx horses with him, yet they will report the whole band there, and receive noe less honour than if the whole band had been there present.

“It hath bene used of old tyme, that, if one hundred men of armes were furnished with * * horses; then had they a standard, a guidon, and a cornet, which cornet we call in England a pen'on.

“And if the band were to serve for the guidon to goe forth with all, then the cornet, or pen'on, should goe forth, for it is a lesse dishonour to lose a cornet than to lose a guidon, because, com'onlie, the cornet goeth forth with lesse than the guidon, and a cornet is used to be borne before the chieftaine, and also before the high marshal, to the entent that all soldiers may see where they be, to advertise them with speede of all needful things and busnes.

“Also, it may please your most excellent majestie, I have made for your highnes three single marches, which be the A B C for a soldier to begin withall, twoe of them to be for footemen, and one for horsemen; also two horses furnished for a man att armes. I would desire that your majestie should note the number of the men, the number of the weapons, and the diversity of every kind of weapon, and the placing of the sayd weapons, likewise the plasing of the corslett, and this shall be an entrie for your highnes towards the battell.

“All good men of warre, and in especiall the Almaynes, who be accounted, among all nations, the flower of the world for good orders of footemen; and all nations have learned at them; when they knowe what numbers of men they shall lead, then the caronell, w'ch is the chiefe of the whole band, calleth his expert men of warre to counsell with him, to divide his men to necessarie weapons, which is a point most chiefe that belongeth to a man of warre, and also to make certaine constituc'ons necessarie for the souldiers to observe during that journie, and also the said souldiers to be sincere to their standards, and to obey those constituc'ons which be made by caronell and worthiest expert men of warre; which constituc'ons, wherever they be admitted as a lawe, be first redde unto the souldiers; and if they think them reasonable, they will consent unto them, and hold upp their hands, which signifieth among them their agreement.

“And afterward, if they breake any of those lawes or constitutions, then shall they suffer, without any resistance, those punishments that be appointed herefore.

And, for the division of the weapons, it is to know what shotte shall be needful, what pikes, and what halbearts; and to appoint necessarie shotte, is one of the hardest things that belongeth to the warr, because it is so uncertaine; for ever as your nombre increaseth soe diminish your shotte, according to your number; for in a small number you shall have neede for a third part of shotte, and in a higher number the iijth part shotte will be enough, and in a bigger number the vth part shotte will serve, and soe upward.

* The Almayns who commonly place but three in a rancke about their battels; but we, if we mingle archers and harquebuses together (as wee think it most needful soe to doe), then must you have about your battle five in a rancke, or foure at the least. If you have five in a rancke then to have three archers and twoe harquabuses; and if four, then to have two arches and two harquabuses. The Almayne trusteth muche to the pushe of the pyke, therefore he will in noe wise have more shotte than he thinketh needful for over much weaking of your bodye of the battalle; for the more that you doe appoynte for shotte the weaker is the bodye of the bataile when it shall come to the push or fight. And yet, notwithstanding, yee must in noe wise but take shotte sufficient, for many tymes it hath been seene that battalls have beene gotten by shotte alone, without pushe or stroke stricken. And, to knowe what shotte will serve, when you have determyned how many you will have in a rancke about your bataile, 3, 4, or 5, then take out of your numbers soe many as you think will serve you, either 3rd part, a 4th part, or a 5th part, and cast the rest of your men in such a battaile as you be used to fight withall, whether it be a insh square or a broad square; which broad square is twice so broad as it is longe at the least. And the Almayns used to sett noe other square but the broad square, if the ground will serve them. And the Pfrechmen use the same at this daye. And the broad square

And the broad square

occupieth a certaine more shotte than the insh square doth, but it is not many.

“ And when you have soe done, cast the rest of your men into such a square as yee mind to fight wthall; then sette yo^r shottes round about your battaile, soe many in a rancke as you determine to have.

“ And if it come ins^t to passe neither under nor over, except it be very few in number then that it is sufficient of shotte for your battaile; but if it come to passe that you have many shotte above your number, then must you diminish those that be superfluous, and put them to other weapons, in the bodye of your battaile. And yet it would be right you should have a certaine of shotte above your necessarie number, to serve you for any need or devise you might happen to have in your journey.

“ And when you have appointed your shotte, then must you appoint your pykes, both armed and unarmed; likewise your halberds or bills. The Almaynes use commonly but one rancke of halberds, or two at the most; to be placed where they place the ensignes, in three p^ts of the battaile; and all the rest pykes. And if you will use more halberds or bills in this country, then must you make your appointment thereafter; and the shotte that is appointed far behinde of your battaile is not comonly set ins^t into the battaile as the rest of the shottes, but is sett in tyme of the battaile somewhat behinde, neare unto the carriages, for the safegard of them, with a certain of horsemen also.

“ Also I could wish, with all my vearie harte, that there were of every hundred men xx corseletts of white harnesse for the front of the battaile; and to have them of white harnesse is, because the white harnesse is a terror in the sight of the enemy from a farre.

“ Also, I would wish that every corselett should have a double paie; because they serve in the most dangerous place in the battaile, and also because they be at the charge of the corseletts.

“Also I would, for corseletts be not easy for poore men to come by, that the kings majestie should cause provision to be made in tyme for a sufficient number of corseletts; and to sell them either for ready money or to bee paid at daies, upon sufficient suretie. And so the kings highnes should be sure to have corseletts enough to serve his majesties purpose in tyme of neede.

“And I would desire that every man that should weare a corselett should be both a man of strength and also of experience, and not choose them as CAPTAINS BE CHOSEN IN ENGLAND, BY FAVOR, AND NOT BY WORTHINES; and, in my poore opinion, until such tyme as you have soe many corseletts of every hundred, and choose your men by worthines, we shall never be strong in the ffield.

“And I fear mor, if it be not looked to in tyme, it will one daie put us in great danger; BUT IF GOD PUT INTO YOUR MAJESTIES HEAD TO MAKE THESE PROVISIONS OF HARNESS, WEAPONS, AND CHUSE YOUR CAPTAINES AND SOLDIERS BY WORTHINES, NOT BY FAVOR, then I doubt nothing but your highnes shall be able to meet with any king christioned onely with your owne subjects; for the good captaine will traine his soldier, and make him a man of warre meete to serve within a fortnight, though he never saw warres before, with taking a little payne; but, as men be trayned now, he may goe 4 or 5 yeares in the warres, and in the end of those yeares shall have noe more knowledg of the warres than he had the first daie. And the cause is, because his captaine is as ignorant as he, and was made a captaine eer ever he was a soldier. I doe not speake this because I think myself worthie to be a captaine, nor yet a soldier, for although knowledg be not in me, yet it is in some other, and would that knowledge were gathered and sett from where it is. And would God that captaines would be as ready to take paines to train their men, as they be readie at the paie daie to take paines to tell money; for it is a grievous paine to sett a battaile with untrained men.

And, whereas I spake before of corseletts, I doe not meane that the rest of the men, which weare no corseletts, should be unarmed; but that they should be armed with such armour as they bring out of the country with them, for somewhat is better than nothing. I would that noe shott should have armour uppon him, but a morion or a scallett upon his head; for there can noe shott, nor archer, nor harabosse, serve well, being armed.

“And, touching your majesties standard of horsemen, I have furnished it with two horses to a man at armes. It is not for it is a com'on use in all countrys, but because it is briefe and and shortest to set out for some country: for some countries who two horses furnished to a man at armes, and some 3; and some countries who 5 horses furnished to a man at armes; which is at the pleasure of the prince that setteth them forth.

“For in France, were they were wont to have at the least 5 horses to the furniture of a man at armes, now at the latter ende of the last warre, they thought it best to have noe light horse, but all men at armes; and did experiment the same, both at the death of sir Ralph Eldercar and at the taking of Mons^r de Free. But Mons^r de Tree wished, and sayed unto mee, that he would they had light horses as well as men at armes, for they bee necessary both for the skirmish and also to be venturers. And, as wee thinketh good, I would have at the least the one half of the band light horses; that is to say, the man at armes and his demilance, and as many bards for the battaile among your men at armes as you shall think good. I have sett noe more barded horses in this band but the 4th part, because most men will think the 4th part barded will be sufficient enough for the battaile.

“The other some may saye again that there ought noe man at armes to be called a man at armes, that lacketh any part of his furniture for the daie of the battaile; that is to saie, a puissant horse, a barde, a shaftron, greves, matokes, and other necessary pieces; for it is the barded horse that bringeth his master from the danger of the fight.

"And some will say, you must have horses to give the chace: truth it is, and I think your light horses sufficient to give the chace, and I would never wish that a man at armes should follow fast in the chace; but that all the men at armes, should follow softly in troopes together, keeping their horses in breath for the succour of the light horse, if any need should happen; and otherwise, peradventure, both light horsemen and men at armes also might be overthrowne.

"Also I would wish, that the main battell of footmen, with a band of horsemen, should never breake order, but keepe to ffields and the artillery; and the artillery to be newly charged, and sett in good order, for doubt of any chance that might happen; and if you have three horses to the furniture of a man at armes, then some use to the man at armes, his demilance, his harqabuss armed on horseback, or els a bore speare at the saddle bowle. And if there be x horses to the furniture of a man at armes, then some useth the man at armes with all his pieces, two demilaunces, and harquabuser on horseback, with a bore speare and a dagger; with a page to carry his masters head-piece and his scaffe.

"And thus for this time I make an end, most humbly beseeching your majestie to accept my poore good-will more than my simple connyng, which is manner nothing at all.

Your majesties most humble subject and servant,

THOMAS AUDELEY."

No. II.

CARDINAL WOLSEY to the KING'S AMBASSADORS at the Imperial Court.

"Mr. Sampson and Mr. Jernyngham, I commend me unto you, in my right hartly manner. Since my last letters to you addressed, sent by the hands of Chatel, secretary to the lord Bawrayn, divers alterations, changes, and contrarieties, have, to the king's great miscontentment, regrete, and displeasure, happened and ensued in the com'on affaires and enterprises; the circumstances whereof, yee, in avoyding all sinister and feyned reaports, which might be caused or contrived, shall plainly shew and declare to th'emperor, and his counsell, at length, in manner and forme following.

"First, whereas the duke of Suffolk, and county de Buren, with the com'on army, after Anker was taken by dedition, the towne and passage of Bray by fforce, were determynd to have fortified the sayd Bray, there to have established their staple of victualls, and soe to have marched the right way towards Paris; trusting and supposing by the way to have had some word or knowledg from the duke of Bourbon. Desiring the king's grace, therefore, not only to send unto them, against the beginning of November, new furniture of money, but also, in consideration of the decrease and diminution of their numbers, by reason of death and sicknes, to cause the army to be enforced, as well with a competent number of english footmen, as also with the supplement of the Burgonyons on th'emperors parte, in such wise as they might be the more able to encounter with the enemies, when neede should be, and also to leave convenient garrisons in such places as they had taken, and should take, for defence of the same; promising that they who then were passed the river of Some would proceede to a great

open towne, not farr distant from thence, called Lehon, there to abide the kings answere and resolution in that behalfe. Soe it was, that, upon knowledg of the p'misses, the kings highnes being very joyous and glad of this good comencement, trusting verily that after the long tract of time, and great difficultie, which had bene in default of their carriages and lymoners, they should now prosperously and comodiously passe to the annoyance of the com'on enemye, not only sent immediately unto the towne of Calays sufficient furniture of money to have sufficed the sayd army till the beginning of January at the least, directing letters to the sayd duke of Suff. to send unto Calays conduyte for the same; but also, with all possible diligence, raised an army of 7000 men, to have passed with spede unto the sayd Lehons, there to have joined with the residue. And, besides that his grace immediately wrote unto the lady Margaret and county de Buren, desiring, and instantlie requiring them, that the Burgonyons, which then were evill payed, and in default thereof daily steale away, might from thenceforth be sufficiently furnished of their payment, and also such number of them as lacked might be fulfilled and supplied. To which purpose his highnes furthermore instructed you by letters, sent by the Chatel, to call upon th'emperor for comandment and sure order to be given in that behalfe. And was utterlie resolved, and determined, that the said army should have tarried in th'enemies countries all this winter; the Burgondians doing the semblable like as the letters sent unto the sayd duke of Suffolk, county de Buren, and also to the lady Margaret, his highnes signified unto them at length. Nevertheless, the king's letters so passed, the money also arrived at Calays, and there remayning, for lack of conduyte, and the sayd enforcement being on the way to Dover, there to have taken shipping, sodainly came new letters from the said duke of Suffolk and county de Buren, shewing how that Bray was not, ne could not be made in short space, strong or tenyble; and that, as well for more comodious saving of victualls, as for convey-

ance of money to the Burgonyons, and the better joining with the duke of Bourbon, they discharging the garrisons of Amere and Bray, and throwing down the walls, gates, and bulwarks of them both; destroying also the strength of the sayd passage; were fully mynded and determined to march towards a place in the confines of Champayn, farr distant from the sayd Bray, called Lan in Lamoys, trusting there, or by the way, to have some knowledg from the sayd duke of Burbon where they might best joine with him, making in those letters neither menc'on of money or reinforcem^t; but only that for the space of 12 dayes they could neither send ne receyve any letters to or from the kings grace, shewing how they had countermanded their victualls, great ordnance, and all other things, which was coming towards them from St. Omers; giving an order, that as well the same as letters and other requisites, to be sent unto them, should be conveyed unto Valencianes. Of which news and alterations, seeming to p'cede of the Burgonyons, the kings highnes not a little marvailed; trusting, nevertheless, that upon receipt of his former letters, estfornes received with more additions requisite to the p'pose, the sayd duke and county would have changed this their new deliberation and intent. Howbeit the kings hope and expectation therein was wholly frustrate; for they had so secluded, stopped, and broken the passages behinde them, that not only in xij dayes, but in xvj, noe word, messenger, or letter, did or could arrive or be sent from th'one to th'other. In which time sundry reports were raised of divers great exploits done by the sayd army, whereof noe certainty could be had; whereby the kings grace was still in good hope, advancing and setting forward the reinforcement, with all other things requisite for continuance of his army, except only that, upon this new knowledge, the reinforcement was stayed at the sea side, till advertisement might be had to what place they should be sent. In this meane season letters were brought from the lady Margaret, declaring resolute that she could not, ne might, make any mann' p'ussion for continu-

ance of the sayd Burgonyons, desiring the king therefore to furnish the same, or at the least till the first day of January next ensuing. Of which tidings his grace, who then had an army of 6000 men against the duke of Albany and Scotts, besides his armes on the sea, to his graces extreme charge, was right heavy and sorry; wherunto, after the sayd xxj dayes expired, was added new discomfortable matter, when his grace, by letters of the sayd duke of Suffolk and county de Buren, understood that they in this meane season had taken Mounttedier, one of the strongest townes of France, situate vj miles beyond the river of Some, right meete for the duke of Burbon, if neede had bene to have layne in this winter. And that, after a right good feate done upon Pountremy, and a certain band of french horsemen, whereof 60 at the least were taken, and among them some good personages, and as many slaine, they had also defeated the strength of the said Mounttidier, taken and pill'd Roy, abandoned them both, and were again returned on this side of the river of Some; affirming, that unles they should so have done, the money of the Burgonyons, which as they sayd was then at Valencians, could not in surety come unto them; saying, nevertheles, that after the same, and also the kings sayd money being at Calays (for the which they had then sent) receyved, they were in as good place to follow their former journey towards Lan in Lannoys, as they were on the other side of the sayd river. And the sayd duke of Suff. promising that, having continuance of the Burgonians, he would not fail to observe and accomplish the same; of which newes concerning this the sayd dukes former intent, the kings grace take right good comfort, and shuld have taken much more, if his highnes had not beene advertised, as well of the sayd answere and expresse refusal, made by the sayd lady Margaret, as also that the 10000 lance-knights, which were under the leading of the county Ffelix, after their wages payed by the kings grace, and a great bootie taken, the rest of the 100000 crowns also arrived for the kings parte. Also theye arrived with the duke of Burbon,

were totally skaled, retired, and gone home; and the sayd duke utterly resolved to passe with diligence, by the way of Jeanes, to th'emperor. Which newes, all accompted together, shewed in manner a meere impossibility that the kings army could continue this winter, specially lacking their horsemen, without whom they could doe noe good. And, being nowe noe time to make pusion of men in this realme, or elsewhere; consid^r also, that the duke of Bourbon, who at the last, with the horsemen which he had levied, might have joined with the kings army, though he lacked his lance-knights, had also discharged them; all which things did put the kings grace in some discontent, abiding daily more knowledg of the certainty. Nevertheles, the sayd duke of Suff^r and county de Buren, understanding by this time, from the lady Margaret and otherwise, that she could not ne might furnish to the further entertaynment of the sayd Burgonyans; perceiving also how their horses and people of both companies daily and nightlie died in great number for colde; and that if the same should soe continue they could not convey their ordnance from the place where it then was, being within the enemies countries, without any knowledg, consent, or comandment, of the kings grace. Other strong place, called Boyhon, taken; which his highnes is mynded to keepe with a good garrison, repaired and retired wholly and entirely unto Valencians, where the kings army still remaineth, abiding knowledg of the kings pleasure. Albeit the Burgonians be a good season passed dep'ted and skaled, every one to his own dwelling-house. Wherupon the kings grace, having knowledg thereof, and considering in what state be the present affaires of Italy, the emperor being also, as it is here supposed, in the ffield in person, hath given order and comandment unto his said lieuten'ts and army, that if in any wise they can have continuance of the sayd Burgonyons, either for the whole winter or at the least for a season, they shall endeavour themselves by redubling of their lymoners, and otherwise in anywise to remayne, p'ceeding againe to th'enterprises, as long as

may be possible; and at the least to resort again to the places at this side the river of Some, taking Dorlance and Carby, if it may be; and to establish garrisons in the same, in suchwise as it may evidently appeare unto the french king, that the kings grace is not mynded to leave his enterprises; ne that his army shall be discharged from those parts, if in anywise the same may be continued, by garrison or otherwise. And that the Burgonyons will joine with them againe for that purpose. Of whom, ne also of the compliment of carriages promised by the lady Margaret to have been provided, they could never be fully furnished by a great deale; which, besides the long retardement of the kings army at Calays, the Burgundians then also not being ready, hath been a marvailous hindrance unto the com'on affaires, that ells had been much further advanced in the commodious time of the yeare, and p'case the enemy by this time have bene brought thereby unto right base and lowe state. All which p'misses ye shall at length shew and declare unto th'emperor, being the very truth and plaines of the matter, least that p'case the lady Margaret, knowing by report of the county of Buren, and other Burgonions, that the duke of Suff. consented to retire on this side of the river of Some, and soe to Valencians, before answe're receyved from the kings grace, touching entertaynment of the sayd Burgonyons, or before knowledg had there of skaling of the sayd lanceknights, shall, for her justification to th'emperor, make demonstrac'on unto his majestie that there was ne should have been any lack in th'entertaynement of the Burgonians, in case the kings army would have tarried; and for that cause I send unto you, herewith, not only the copies of certain clauses, written at sundry times, by the duke of Suffolk, shewing and declaring the great lack of payment of the sayd Burgonyons, which caused them to fall unto spoile, besides the diminution of their numbers, but also copies as well of the county of Burens letters, written to the kings grace and to me; wherein he shewed the non-likelihood of their sayd entertaynment, which was the total cause of the first

intended way from Bray abandoned and forsaken; as also of the lady Margarets letters, written to th'emperors ambassadors here resident, mentioning how she could not, ne might, furnish money for continuance of the Burgonyons, as is aforesayd; which things, plainly notified unto th'emperor, shal put his majestie out of any doubt, that the dissolving of the sayd army was not in the kings fault, or by his will or consent; but is, I assure you, as highly to the displeasure and miscontent of his highnes as can be possibly devised or imagined. Nevertheles, since there is now noe remedy, his grace will, as well by keeping garrison in the sayd Boyhon, if it be tenyble, and also, if it be possible, in the sayd townes on this side of the river of Some, as by all other meanes, plainly shew and prove his assured and perfect myndē and intent not to desist from his enterprises in Ffrance, but effectually to continue the same, according to th'emperors desire and contemplation. For the better performance whereof his grace hath sent in post after the duke of Burbon, desiring him, if he be not too far past in his journey, to passe by this the kings realme, as well for his more suretie, com'oditie, and briefe expedition, as also to th'intent, that, upon coica'con and device, to be had between the kings highnes and him, of such further things as be now to be done and enterprised touching the com'on affaires, th'emperor may, at his coming and repaire unto him, be the more perfectly riped therein; and the same more directly, by mutual understanding and knowledge from th' one to th'other, be put in execution, there should be, if the sayd duke passed by Jeanes first into Spayne, and then thither, as he affirmeth he is mynded to doe. Howbeit, by such knowledg as is had from sir John Russell, who lieth at Besancon, with the king's money last sent, for payment of the sayd lanceknights, it should seeme that the sayd duke is already very far on his journey towards Jeanes, soe as it is thought it shall be too late to send any knowledg to him of the kings sayd mynde and desire. And much it is to be feared least his passage by that way shall be very dangerous. Wherefore,

if he shall happen safely to arrive by that way with the emperor, the matter must be taken as it now may be, and the more speedy diligence is to be used, for advertisem^t to be given unto the kings highnes of every thing accordinglie.

(Here follow two pages in cypher.)

"Over this yee shall shew unto th' emperor how that, after the great preparations, braggs, and boasts made by the duke of Albany, with his Frenchmen and Scotts, to invade this the kings realme, and the number of * * * * Scotts, at the least, assembled and raised for that purpose, he marching with them towards this the kings sayd realme, furnished right plenteously of ordnances, victualls, and other necessities, did sett forth a truce or peace, to have been treated or com'oned of by the meane of the kings sister, the queene of Scotts, with comprehension of France. Wherunto, besides his hope, answere was made, that, as long as he and his Frenchmen were in the realme of Scotland, or the Scots given to the party of the french king, they should never have peace, truce, or other appointment, with many other clauses mentioned in letters of the erle of Surrey, the kings lieutenant for the time in the north parts of this realme, to the reproche and pricking forth of the sayd duke; wherupon he, after long demurring and lyngering upon the borders, trusting that he would come unto Barwicke, Carlile, Norham, or some other strong place, which all were sufficiently furnished for his resistance, came at the last before a poore castle, not yet fully builded and finished, called Werke, wherein were only 100 soldiers, with a captaine, named sir William Lislée, unto which place he bent, and two whole days shott all his great ordnance right fiercely, being right well, manfully, and valiantly defended; the third day, early in the morning, he set over the river unto this english side, where the base court of the castle was, 3000 Frenchmen and 1500 Scotts to give the assault on this side, while the battery endured on th' other, who, being the base court too large to be with all

the rest defended with 100 persons, in processe entered the same, giving the assault to the innerwarde so eagerly, that, partly by sufferance of the captaine and soldiers, they also entered the same, being slaine with fighting at hard strokes, as fast as they came in, in suchwise that, after the captaine of the french footmen, with xx^{tie} of his companie there slaine, the rest were driven out of the inner warde, and by the captaine and Englishmen so freshly pursued, that they, with above 1500 footmen, French and Scotts, then being in the base court, were totally driven and expelled out of the same, and, with losse of above xx of them, compelled to flee again over the water, where not a few were drowned for haste. The castle being thus, for that time, delivered from the danger of that assault, the captaine gave knowledge of the p'misses to the kings sayd lieut'ent, who, with his army, was in sundry places in and near Berwicke, lodged in the cuntrie in three wardes and sundry wings, as comodity of victuals would suffer, and, incontinently after his army assembled, marched towards Werke; whereof the sayd duke being esp'iall advertised, immediately levied his siege, and in the night, with all celerity, returned, as farr as for the time he might, into Scotland, lodging himselfe and whole army, at an abbey called Eales. Howbeit, being advertised that the kings said lieut'ent was arrived at Warke, and passing the river with his ordnance and army, intending to pursue the said duke, he the night following, at midnight, causing the retreat to be formed, in despite of all the scottish borderers, who exhorted him to tarry and revenge the displeasures done unto them, shamefully and cowardly fledd and ran away, marching continually, with small pauses and rests, till he came to Edenbrough, where, after his army, to his perpetuall shame, skaled, he called a counsaile, and, since that time, hath made new overtures of peace or truce, which be answered as the former were. Wherupon the kings grace, inasmuch as for the unseasonableness of the time, sterility, barrenes, and softnes of the ground there, noe mayne invasion can, as yet, be made into Scotland, hath established great garrisons on those borders, who doe and shall make continuall

excurses and roads into that land, devastating and destroying the same, till such time as the co'modious time of the yeare shall come, for further annoyance to be made unto them, of which good successes, without losse of any Englishman, or hurt of one, may be done to this realme. Albeit the sayd duke, by his journey, in manner hath destroyed Scotland for many yeares, the kings grace doubteth not but th' emperor will be very joyous and glad, trusting in Almighty Godd, that, by continuance of the warrs this spring of the yeare, and the so'mer coming, the Scotts shall be compelled to know themselves, and either abandon the said duke and fac'ion of Ffrance; or ells to be of little hability to doe any annoyance unto this the kings realme, in presence or absence of his grace, of a long time to come.

“ Finally, I send unto you, here inclosed, copies of the kings and my letters to the duke of Barbon, sent by his servant, bearer hereof; after whose arrivall to th' emperor, yee shall, on the kings and my behalfe, salute him with cordiall recommendations, rehearsing unto him by mouth, how displeasing it was to the kings highnes and me to heare and understand of the retire of the sayd lanceknights, by whose continuance, after the sayd duke once joined with them, the kings army, who, ensuing th' emperor and the sayd dukes advice and counsaile, left all sieges, and, marching into the bowels of Ffrance, and of travers of the same, only to joine or be neere unto the sayd duke, and he, with his horsemen and lanceknights, were like to have utterly caused a cleare mutac'on in Ffrance, to the high renowne of the emperor, the kings grace, and the sayd duke, wheras, by the sayd retire, the matters be now greatly hindered and changed. And, nevertheles, if the sayd duke, after the lanceknights departed, had yet drawne with his horsemen towards the kings army, they should have been puissant enough to have kept the field; and, at the least, the sayd duke might have kept Mounttidier, strengthening the same for his abode there this winter, which would have

bene a notable countenance against the co'mynemie. Howbeit, since there is now herein noe remedy, yee shall say unto him that the kings grace and I shall think long to heare of such further wayes as be to be devised for the redubbing thereof, and the further pursuing of the co'mon enterprises, wherein, neither with the rest of the 100,000 crowns, ne with any other thing that may be done on the kings parte, and for the honor and weale of the sayd duke, shall be any lack or default on this side; with such other good words as yee may perceive shall sound to the confirmac'on of the things mentioned in the sayd copies; saying, furthermore, both unto th' emperor and unto him, that, upon knowledge of their minds, what way shall now further be taken, afore the kings grace will send unto you co'mission for conclusion of all matters with the sayd duke accordinglie; and of his answer herein, I pray you to advertise me with diligence, semblably as well of all such things as yee doe, can, or shall know touching th' intent of th' emperor, and of the sayd matters, concerning practises or appointments, and other the premises, as also of the good newes, successes, and speede of th' emperors army, whereof to heare the kings grace thinketh very long; and also of such occurrences as shall happen theme, from time to time; signifying unto you, sir Richard Jernyngham, that the kings highnes, in consideration of your travailes and paines sustained there, hath appointed you to be his vice-chamberlaine, and the same office doth keep and reserve for you purposely, till your coming and returne, praying you both not to be slack in often advertisements, considering how much damage and hindrance the lack thereof doth unto the co'mon causes and affaires, which his highnes and I both trust yee will ponder and consider, supplying, hereafter, the farr distance of the places by your diligente depeches and writings, wherein yee shall administer unto his grace very thankful and acceptable service to be considered and remembered accordinglie. And fare yee hartily well.

At my place besides Westm^r. the iiijth day of December 1533.

"Your lovyng frende,

"T. CARLIS. EBOR.

"To my loving ffrends, M^r. Richard Sampson,
doctor of the lawe, and deane of the Kings
Chappell; and sir Richard Jernyngham,
knight; the kings counsailors and ambassad^{rs}.
to the emperor."

No. III.

FROM LORD SURREY TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

"Plesith it y^r. grace to be adv'tised, that upon Fridaye, at x a cl'k. at nyght, I reto'ned to this towne, and all the garrisons to their places assigned, the bishoprick men, my lorde of Westm'land, and my lord Dacre, in likewise ev'y man home w^t. their companys w'tout los of any men, thanked be God, saving viij or x slayne, and dyvers hurt at skyrmyshes, and saults of the towne of Gedwurth and the fortresses, whiche towne is soo severly bernt, that noo garrisons ner none other shal be lodged there unto the tyme it be newe buylded; the burnyng therof I comytted to two sure men, S^r. Will^m. Bulm' and Thomas Tempeste.

"The towne was moche better then I wot it had been, for ther was twoo tymys moor howses therin then in Berwik, and well buylded, w^t. many honest and faire howses therein sufficiente to have lodged * * horsemen in garryson, and six good towres therein, whiche towne and towres bee clerely distroyed, bernt, and throwen down. Undoubtedly ther was noo ro'men made into Scotland, in noo manys day living, w^t. soo fewe a nombre; that is

recownted to bee soo high an enterprice as this, bothe w^t. thies contremen and Scottishmen, nor of truthe soo moche hurt doon; but in th' ende a great mysfortune did fall onely by folly that suche ordre as was com'aunded by me to be kepte was not observed, the maner whereof hereafter shall ensue.

“ Before myn entre into Scotland, I appointed sir W^m. Bulmer for the vangard, and sir W^m. Evers for the reregard. In the vangard, I appointed my lorde of Westmoreland as chief w^t. all the bishopricke, sir W^m. Bulm', sir W^m. Overs, my lord Dacre, w^t. all his company, and w^t. me remayned all the rest of the garrysons and the Northumberland men. I was of counsaile w^t. the m'shallis at thordering of o^r. lodging; and o^r. camp was soo well envirownd w^t. ordynance carts and diks, that hard it was to entre or issue but at certain placis appointed for that purpos; and assigned the mooste com'odious place of the said campe for my lord Dacre company next the water, and next my lorde of Westm'land; and at suche tyme as my lord Dacre came into the ffield, I being at the sault of Thabby, whiche contynued unto twoo houres wⁱⁿ nyght, my said lord Dacre wold in nowise bee contente to ly wⁱⁿ the campe, whiche was made right sure, but lodged himself w^{out}, wherew^t. at my retorne I was not contente; but then it was to late to remove. The next day I sent my lord Dacre to a strong hold called Fernherst, the lord whereof was his mortall enemy, and w^t. hym sir Arthur Daren, sir Marmaduke Constable, w^t. vij^e of their men, one co'tonte, and dyvers other good pecs of ordynance for the feld. The said Fernherst stode m'velous strongly wⁱⁿ a great woode. The said twoo knights, w^t. the most pte of their men, and Strikland; yo^r. graces xxx, w^t. iij * Kendall men, went into the woode on fote, w^t. ordyn'nce, where the said Kendall men were soo handled, that they found hardy men that were not foote bak for them. The other twoo knights were alsoo soo sharply assayled, that they were enforced to call for moo of their men, and yet could not bring thordyn'nce to the fortresse, unto the tyme my lord Dacre, w^t. part of his horsemen,

lighted on fote, and m'velously herdly hymself handled; and, fynally, w^t. long skyrmyshing, and moche difficultie, got forthe thordyn'nce, wan the howse, and threwe downe the same; at which skyrmyshe my said lorde Dacre, and his brother sir Christofer, and sir Arthure and sir Marmaduke, and many other gentilmen, did m'velously hardly, and found the best resistance that hath be seen since my comyng to thies p'ties, and above xxx * Scottis slayne, and not passing iiij Englishmen, but about lx hurt. After that, my said lord, retorning to the campe, wold in nowise be lodged in the same, but where he laye the first night; and he being w^t. me at soup', about viij a klok, the horses of his company brake lowse, and sodenly ran out of his feld, in suche nombre that it caused a m'velous alarvme in o^r. feld; and, o^r. standyng watche being set, the horses com ronnyng along the campe, at whom were shot above one hundred sheif of arrowes, and dyvers gonnys, thinking they had been Scotts that wold have saulted the campe; fynally, the horses were soo madde, that they ran like wilde dere into the felde above xx at the leest in dyv's companys; and, in one place, above l fell downe a great rok, and slewe themselfes, and above ij*1 ran into the towne being on fire, and by the women taken and carried away right evill bernt, and many were taken agayne; but, finally, by that I can esteme, by the nombre of theym that I sawe goo on fote the next daye, I think there is lost above * * horses, and all w^t. foly, for lack of not lying w^tin the campe. I dare not write the wondres that my lord Dacre and all his company doo saye they sawe that nyght vi tymys of sprits and fereful sights; and unyv'sally all their company saye playnly the devil was that nyght amongs theym vj tymys, whiche mysfortune hath blemysshed the best w'men that was made in Scotland many yeres. I assure yo^r. grace I found the Scotts at this tyme the boldest and the hottest that ev^r. I sawe any nacion. And all the rem'dr, upon all pts of tharmy kepte us w^t. so contynual skyrmyshe, that I nev^r. sawe the like, if they myght assemble * * as good men as I nowe sawe ** or ** it wold bee an herd encountre to mete theym. Pitie it is of my lord Dacres losse of the horses of his company: he

brought w^t. him above *** men, and came and lodged one night in Scotland in his most mortall enemys contre. Ther is noo herdier ner bettir knight; but often tymes he doth not use the most sure ordre, whiche he hathe nowe payed deerly for. Written at Berwike, the xxvijth of Septembre.

“ Yrs. most bownden,

“ T, SURREY.”

No. IV.

FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY to the King's Resident Minister in Rome.

“ MY LORD,—I comend me unto you, in my most hearty manner, perceiving, by tenor of your letters, bearing date at Rome the * * * and * * * days of December, that my letters to you, addressed by two special currors, the one the * * * day, and th' other the * * * day of November, were safely, after some difficultie in the way, arrived, and comen to your hands, with the state and disposition wherin th' affaires thene were and stood at that time; ffor the which your diligent advertisement, the kings highnes, unto whom I have shewed and read your sayd letters, and also your others of the * * * * * and I, both give unto you our hearty thanks; assuring you, that as well your sundry devices and discourses had with the popes holines to very good purposes, as also your discrete order taken for certaine of the kings money, with other your doings, there be much to be liked and comended, wherin more and more yee daily shew the manifest comprobac'on of your wisdom and great zeale to doe unto the kings highnes and his realme acceptable service, which yee may be assured shall be remembered accordinglie, ascertaining you that the kings grace sundrie wayes hath lately bene advertised, that the ffrench king, lying himself with the most part of his

army still at the siege of Pavia, hath sent and advanced, or intendeth shortly to send forth once again, the duke of Albany towards Naples; after whom it was first sayd, that the sayd viceroy of Naples and other th' emperors ffolkes, leving Lody, passed and took their way thitherward for defence of the same; and that the ffrench king had therupon sent after them the county St. Pole, with other good companies and band of men, thinking to interclude th' emperors folkes betwene both companies; afterward by letters sent from the duke of Mylayn, of the 22d of December, to his ambassador resident with the kings highnes, the same among other newes perceived, that in case the ffrench king should send any power towards Naples, or make visage soe to doe for any pollicie or craft, thinking thereby to cause the sayd viceroy to abandon Italie, and to attend the defence of Naples, the sayd french king should be greatly frustrate of his opinion, for the sayd viceroy would in noe wise leave Italie; but, as soon as he should have his power, unite experiment battaile with the sayd ffrench king, which thing to heare and understand the kings highnes was very joyous and glad, com'ending and lawding greatlie the sayd viceroys great vertue, wisdom, and good conduct, in this behalfe. This matter, not unliklie to be true, is of great importance and consequence, having many things in it necessary substantially to be considered; for, remembring the com'on fame, which upon sundrie advertisements out of Italie hath long continued here, that there is a privie part, treaty, and agreement, concluded betwene the pope's holynes and the ffrench king, both for alliance and other great matters; and seeing that the ffrench king dare take upon him this enterprise, which, without the popes favor, he could never think to bring unto good purpose; the demonstrac'ons also, which, at the former time, were shewed for passage of the Frenchmen through Plesance, with other great arguments and apparent conjectures, sounding to that purpose; it is verily to be thought that the popes holynes, be it that the same be induced thereunto by feare, affec'on, ambic'on, or otherwise, proceedeth not so sin-

cerelie with th' emperor and the kings grace in this behalfe, as was supposed; and, therefore, that the kings highnes, for his parte, upon such assurance as allwayes I have made unto his grace, on the popes behalfe, hath hitherto grounded his affaires upon an entire confidence towards his holynes, perswading unto himself, as indeede hath been written from thence, that neither feare of adversite, though his holynes should be compelled to flie out of the cittie of Rome, nor desire of exaltation of his cuntrie ffrends or kinfolks, lucre of goods, possessions, or other things, should move his holynes from the constant mynd, which the same had unto the king and th' emperor; but that if it should come unto the uttermost, he would take such parte in peace or warr against the ffrench king as they should doe, which thing seemeth not to be observed so constantlie as was written and affirmed. It is now time to be somewhat more plaine with his holynes than before needed or was intended; for surely if it be true that is devulged and reported abroad, where it was supposed, that his holynes, for his great vertue, wisdom, experience, perfect zeale unto Christs religion, and other his qualities, was like by his high pollicie to have done as great good and furtherance to the weale, quiet, and exaltation, of x'endome, and to the honor and dignitie of the see apostolique, or more than any his predecessors have done of a great season. This manner of proceeding is evidentlie apparent to be the high and plaine way to lead streight unto continuall and incessant warr, to the hindrance, damage, and diminuc'on of the christian religion, and to the great impairing of the dignitie of his holynes, and the sayd see apostolike; which eminent dangers being soe notorious as they be, I cannot, ne may with my dutie tow^{ds}. his holynes, forbear to signifie and cause to be declared unto the same, with due humilitie, obedience, and reverence, as one of the unworthie members of that, wherof his holynes is the head, praying you therefore, that, taking a convenient time for this purpose, and making unto his holynes my most lowly recomendations, yee shall begin first with the

brute and fame devulged here, as is aforesayd; proceeding also to the firme opinion conceaved in him by the kings highnes and me, with other the p'misses; making also, in my name, protestation, that I specially and entirely for the fervent zeale that I have towards the honor, weale, and surety, of his holynes, and of the quiet and repose of Christendome, am desirous to notifie unto the same my poore advice and opinion in this weighty matter, enter the overture thereof, in as good, pleasant, and loving manner, as yee can devise.

“ Saying, furthermore, that since the time that the kings highnes receaved his crowne and dignity royall, the very intent and purpose of his grace hath allwayes bene affixed to doe his best endeavour to help, further, and conduce universall peace, in 'xendome, and to repress or bring unto good reformation those that be disturbers of the same. To the intent, that such peace once had, his highnes, whom it pleased Almighty God to constitute in the regim^t. of his people, in his flourishing and growing yeares, might in his life (God soe willing) see the time to doe some notable service unto Christs religion against the infidells for a general expedic'on by all princes to be made against the same.

“ And upon this vertuous purpose his grace hath principally grounded the cause and occasion of his warrs against those that daily doe impeach the quiet of christian princes, shewing himself allwayes inclynable to that thing which might conduce unto good sure and generall peace; and what rejoyce his highnes took, what perfect trust and confidence and expectation his grace also had to heare and understande, that the popes holynes, after his assumpc'on to the papall dignitie, was and shewed himself most entirely mynded to this purpose, noe man can be better witnes than I, who alwayes ceased not to imprint in the mynde of his highness, that this was the principle, and in manner the only intent and meaning of the popes holynes, whom

God had ordained to have correspondence of convenient youth, entire zeale, and singular affection hereunto.

“Secondly, when any notable thing hath insurged, which might be to the impeachment of this soe vertuous a purpose, as hath bene damnable heresies suscite and brought up by the fryer Martyn Luther, how his highnes, mynding to the uttermost of his power and cuning to repress, both by his sword and also his penne, all things sounding to the division of the holy church, needeth not to be rehearsed.

“Thirdly, his grace hath not a little taken to heart and mynd the great enterprises now lately, these intestine warrs in 'xendome enduringe, attempted by the Turke, as well against Belgrado, and other parts of Hungary, as against the citie and isle of the Rhodes; wherein what jacture, losse, detriment, and perill, ensueth, and is apparent to the rest, is facile and easie to be considered, being one of the things most highlie hath moved his grace partly to withdraw the uttermost rigor of his warrs, and rather, with his owne extreme detrimt, losse, and p'iudice, to condescend unto some way conducing towards peace, where by the christen princes unitie the malice of the Infidells might the better be resisted, then leaning unto his owne particular titles, quarrells, and pretences, to enforce th'extremity of his warrs, to the continuance of discorde in Christendome, and to the advantage of th' enemies of Christs religion. And in what danger, not only the realme of Hungary, but also the realme of Naples, with the rest of Italie, and consequently his holynes, the citie of Rome, and generally the state of all X'pendome, standeth in, if the Turke, in this his pride, finding such opportunity, shall attempt to invade the same, there is noe wise man but he can well consider.

“Besides this, it is notorious, and sorrowful to be remembered, how largely the sayd lutherand heads doe spread through all Germany, the pestiferous sect wherof is not soe kept out of Ffrance, Spaine, Fflanders, Den-

marke, Scotland, and p'case many parts of England, and other regions, but it hath partlie penetrated the same, the remedy wherof is only th'expectac'on that the good people, being members of Christs church, have had to heare and understand, that the head thereof, in this his beginning, tended all such things as might sound to the reformation of enormities, the observance of due order, and the following of Christs lawes. And if it shall chaunce, as God forbid, that they might perceive themselves frustrate of this opinion, it is hard to know how much the malice of the ghostly enemy might work or have power in them.

"These things well pondered and remembered, it is hard for the kings highnes and me to think or believe, that the popes holynes, whom God hath endowed with soe great vertue, wisdom, and other notable qualities, doth or will, for any earthlie cause, cease or p'termitt to have principall or vigilant respect hereunto, before the feare or dread of any prince whatsoever he were, and before any desire of exaltation of his house, country, family, or kinfolks, but rather to expound his substance, goods, authority, person, and life, to the mayntenance of Christs religion, then for any particular cause to put the same in hazard and danger.

"But if his holynes, who hitherto hath shewed himself soe studious of universal peace, and to advance the sayd expedicon against the infidells, should now (as God forbid) be moved or induced to leane unto any such thing as might sound to the furtherance and advancement of the princes causes which is the only disturber of the tranquility of X'pendome, these things following be undoubtedlie evident, and likely to ensue.

"Ffirst, where there was good hope and apparence of peace to have been componed by mediac'on of his holynes in briefe time, the same may well be assured that the realme of Naples, and duchie of Myllayn, both taken from the emperor, he shall never, ne will condescend unto peace, truce, or appointment, they being out of his hands, for recovery of which Naples, in

that case, the kings highnes were bounden to give th'emperor assistance, inasmuch as it was in his possession at the time of making the treatye; which were a meane that the warrs should be more hott and cruent than ever afore, without any hope or apparence that they should have any briefe end, but long to continue. Of the which warr, the popes holynes, favouring the ffrench king, or not earnestlie resisting him, in the sayd enterprise of Naples, might and should be accounted to be the principal author and occasion, to the high displeasure of God, the great inquietac'on of X'pendome, his owne dishonor, and the occasion of infinite hurts, damages, and inconveniences, in our time, and after our days, to ensue.

"Secondly, the french king having the duchy of Myllan, and the realm of Naples, both in his hands, and being a prince of such ambition and cupiditie of dominion as he is, it is not to be doubted that he would studie and compasse the wayes how he might by little and little allect, and draw unto his subjection as many other countries of Italie as he could, acquiring the residue, by dread or otherwise, unto his will and devotion. Whereby, consequently, he might attaine wayes and meanes to attempt the empire of Rome; which had or not had, the popes holynes might be sure, that the same, constitute inter Scillam & Charibdim, should be faine to condescend unto all the will and pleasure of the sayd ffrench king; who, notwithstanding any good countenance that he doth now make, would not then faile to use and dispose of the pope as of his chaplaine; wherby the honor, dignitie, and pre-eminence, of the see apostolique, should, from the high state of the same, be brought into base and exile reputac'on, and what dishonor for ever should be spoken and written of a pope, which in his time and default had not only suffered, but in manner given th'occasion hereof, I doubt not but his holynes can well consider.

"Thirdly, if p'case, as some men say, the pope were mynded to erect a kingdom in Ethruria; which, being ffeodary to the see apostolique, might

be thought to be a defence unto the same, his holynes may well be assured, that though p'case for this time the greatest inconvenients that might ensue therof should not appeare, yet, nevertheles, it were the next and most plaine way after his dayes, if it be not done in his time, to bring the said see apostolique into extreme danger; for how other princes, being vassalls of the church, doe use themselves towards the same, is daily in experience; and whether the church be strengthened or defended, or weakened or anoyed by them, is well known. And if the popes holynes, for any particular affection to his owne family, should, for exaltation thereof, empaire and extremely endamage the see apostolique, to the high prejudice of all his successors, and of the dignity of Christs church, how far such an act were discrepant from the expectation and good opinion which all ffolkes have had that his holynes in his time should not only preserve, but greatlie amplifie the same to him and his successors, may be well considered.

“Over this, there is great respect and considerac'on to be had unto the fraile state wherin a great part of those which should be members of the church of Rome now stand in; for it is not unknown that the lutheran heresies have, as is aforesayd, infect all Germany, a great part wherof is in th'emperor and his brothers dominions; who finding extreme ingratitude in the popes holynes, a great occasion may be given to their subjects, the rather to fall unto such wayes as may tend to the popes displeasure, wherby the whole cuntry, now proud and ready to hearken unto the sayd heresies, may happen to withdraw themselves from th'obedience to the church of Rome. And what Spaine shall doe is hard to know; ne also whether France shall be as ready therunto as any other, though the popes holynes doe never soe much for it. And, to saye the truthe, I see such inclination in many of the clergie and people of this realme, that I fear an evill example given by other might soone doe much hurt in the same. Which things well considered, it were rather convenient that the popes holynes should now study wayes and

meanes, by his direct and indifferent proceeding with the princes, to conferme and amend the reputation of the dignity papall, than, by loosing and amitting the benevolence of th'emperor, being the greatest prince in Christendome, and having most cuntries and possessions in his hands, to give occasion whereby the obedience to the church of Rome should be notably dyminished. And this matter, among other, is not the least to be regarded and looked unto, for surely the dangers thereof be more eminent than I now doe write, like as I am sure the popes holynes doth perfectly perceive and know. Which thing was in good trayne of reformat'ion and remedy, by such prudent and vertuous wayes as the popes holines hath taken, as well in sending my lord card^{ll} Campegius into Almayne as otherwise; who, by his great dexteritie, hath there so much profited in the charge to him com'itted, that there was apparent and good hope, by little and little, to extinct the sayd infection. Wheras, if this new manner of proceeding should be used, not only the sayd lord card^{ll} standeth in extreme danger to be destroyed in Almayne, but also there is great apparence that the dignity papall, by declyning of Germany and other countries from th'obedience th'of, shall suffer and take the greatest detriment and hindrance that ever came therunto.

“ Besides this, it is notorious with what cruell mynd and intent the Turke infesteth Christendome, studying nothing so much as how to extinct Christs faith; for w'ch purpose he hath first wonne and acquired the two propugnations and most defencible and strong places of the same, converting all his doings to find the meanes and wayes, by sundrie regions and places, to enter X'p'dome at one time. Who, being a prince of soe great a power as he is, thinketh himself puissant enough to subdue all the whole princes and realmes of X'pendome, though they were never soe well unite. And what opportunitie shall be given unto him finding the same in totall devision is easy to be known; for, first, in Hungary shall be found small resistance in comparison of his power, the princes most vicine of the same being the emperors

subjects and allies, and occupied in the defence of his cause; Naples and Cicilie being countries of noe great strength, and occupied with warrs intestine, shall not be able to make against him any resistance; the citie of Rome, and the rest of Italie, Naples lost and the Turks power entered, be of small power to doe themselves or any other good or furtherance. Hungary lacking assistance, what way Germany shall be inclined unto, who now so much favor the lutherane sect, is deeplie to be pondered. And then, whether the french king, having warr and hostilitie with England, and divers other countries, shall be able, with his alliance made in Italie, to put remedy unto these inconveniences, the popes holines, by his great wisdom, can soon judge and discern. Therefore, if his holines, like a gracious ffather, head and governor of Christs church, doe mynde the suretie, weale, and preservac'on of the same, and will, in these tempestuous and troublesome stormes, be the very medicine and leech to the diseases and infirmities p'sentlie reigning in X'pendome, it is noe time now to look unto particularities and private affections; but, substantially regarding the supreme dignity that God hath called him unto, and finding the affaires in the state that they now be, to intende, with all effect, unto such wayes and meanes as shall tend to the encrease of Christs religion, rather than to give cause or occasion to the manifest empayring of the same. And herein, to say the very truth, and acquit myself with my dutie and most tender zeal towards his holines, I cannot see how it may stand with the lawe and pleasure of Almighty God, that the heads of the church should involve and initiate themselves and their state by their conjunction unto temp'all princes in the warrs; but that, as I verily suppose, since these leagues offensive or defensive, or both, have bene used to be made in the name of any pope, God hath stricken and sent affliction unto the whole church, and gen'altie of X'pendome for the same. And these contracts and convenc'ons used for the enhauncing of particular families and countries, have not hitherto proved either to endure or to doe good and furtherance

to the papall dignitie; but all that one pope hath gone about in such affaires, with much travaile, labor, cost, and difficultie, hath, either in his own tyme, or soone after, bene disappointed. And all wayes with the detriment and damage of the see apostolique, which hath bene of the chiefe causes to provoke such damnable sects against the popes authority as hath of late dayes bene raised in sundry parts of X'pendome. And though I suppose and think verily, that the p'misses be right well considered and pondered by the popes holynes; and that the same, any brute raised to the contrary, is of soe high wisdom and vertue, that he would never condescend to such things in the favor of the ffrench king as is reported; yet, nevertheles, being the matters of soe great importance, I thought convenient, in accomplishing of my dutie, as a most humble creature of his holines, to declare unto the same, the danger and perill which I see and p'ceive in these affaires; wherunto I doubt not but his holines can and will adhibite and put better remedy then here can be studied or devised. Nevertheles, to declare the kings and myne opinion herein, I advertise you, that there be three wayes by the which it is thought here that a convenient remedy may be found for disappointing the ffrench kings purpose, th'enterprise of Naples, and consequently to eschue the sayd great dangers and inconveniences apparent to ensue of the same; which three things yee shall declare and shew unto the popes holynes, on the kings and my behalfe, as by waye of friendlie counsall given to the same, in case th'affaires stand in such case as the kings grace is advertised.

“The first and principall is, that the sayd viceroy persist firmelie in this his intenc'on now with diligence to enforce himself to present, give, and strike battaile with the ffrench king before he may enforce his power; for the kings highnes, by espiall and otherwise, is advertised that the ffrench king hath sent for Mons^r de Lotrick, and all the captaines and men of warr, from his ffrontiers, as well on the side of Spaine as in Picardy, Burgoyne, and elsewhere, to repaire unto him, being in likelihood in feare and dread of such

battaile. And, therefore, now is the time for the viceroy to accelerate the same, before the ffrench king can be able soe to reinforce himself, and thereby to put perfect surety, God willing, both unto the duchy of Myllayn and to the realme of Naples; for such battaile, stricken with advantage, as it now may be, neither the duke of Albany can prosper in Naples, but shall with his army come to extreme rayne; ne also the ffrench king can be of power to doe any thing in the duchy of Myllayn, but at the least shall be compelled to abandon the same; wherby he shall be afterwards constrained to come unto reason. And, albeit this matter touch not the kings highnes, ne any capitulac'ons be passed betwene th'emperor and his grace for the same, yet, nevertheles, for the tender love that his grace beareth unto th'emperor, in case the sayd viceroy will really and actually strike the sayd battaile with the ffrench king, his grace will, the same done and performed, give unto him and that army a reward of 50000 crowns. And in this case of battaile stricken, the kings grace is contented that yee not only convert the residue of the 50000 crownes yet remayning in sir John Russells hands, and not made hither by exchange, unto this use, for th'reward and toward the entertaynment before specified, after the battaile stricken, and not before; but also that, as well with that which yee have taken, and the residue delivered to my lord of St. Johns folkes and other, as otherwise yee by your wisdom and pollicy finde the meanes, without any great losse or interest to supply and make up the residue of the sayd 50000 crownes. Howbeit, if for lack of good resistance to be made in Naples, or for feare of affection of the people to the ffrench partie, or other cause, to the kings highnes unknown, this thing, so much profitable to the suretie of Italy, cannot be p'formed and atchieved; but, that the sayd viceroy will and shall think good in anywise to follow the ffrench kings army marching towards Naples; then the kings highnes thinketh good that they in noe wise leave Lody, Cremona, and other places fortified, unfurnished, but surely to provide for defence of the

same. And then the popes holines, who, upon the sodaine discent of the ffrench king into Italie, and the lack of sufficient furniture of th'emperors ffolkes, was p'adventure the rather induced and inclinable, for his owne suretie, and feare of the ffrench power, to fall into some practise with the ffrench king, may, nevertheles, upon these your instructions, exhort the Venetians to advance and sett forth their army with all diligence in assistance of th'emperors ffolkes; and his holines, either openly, or at the least secreatlíe, may give effectual ayde unto the same, by such good wayes and devices as to his holines shall be thought expedient; and, among other, coniventibus oculis, to suffer or cause the paysants and villaynes of the territory of Bonony, being as it is sayd churlish people, as well by fortyfying and defence of the passages, which be very straight and dangerous for the marching of an army, as, by withholding vittailes from them, soe to impeach the ffrenchmen there, that they shall not be able to passe that countrie. Who, either overthrowne, or by these meanes repelled and put back, the ffrench king shall be so discouraged, and his power soe enfeebled, that there shall neede noe feare to be had of any feates by him to be done in Italie at this time. And this devise, the ffrenchmen passing towards Naples, and being but a small number to speak of, shall be the thing, if the former way be not faisable, that may put suretie to the realme of Naples; and, consequentlie, the ffrench kings power and estimac'on so much deminished, to give the emperors ffolkes a marvailous advantage for the utter defeating of the ffrench king, and the driving of him out of Lumbardy; for there is neither of these two wayes but, if they may be duliae followed, the ffrenchmen be like, God willing, to be repressed, and either totally subdued there, or at least compelled by force to abandon Italie. Which shall be the next and most sure meane for conducting of peace, without such obstinate refusal and high demands as hitherto hath bene shewed and required on the ffrench p'tie.

"The third way devised and thought good here, if neither of these wayes can be brought about, or, the same attempted, shall not fortune to take good effect, is, that where there was lately overture made unto the viceroy of Naples, on the popes behalfe, that he, and other th'emperors ffolkes there, should condescend to put as much parte of the duchy of Myllayn as yet is in their possession into the popes hands, per modum depositi, for a certaine tyme, within the which communicac'on and treaty may be had for a conuent peace, shewing that the ffrench king was contented to doe the semblable for such townes and places within the sayd duchy as remayned in his hands; and therupon to conclude a truce, to dep^t out of Italie with his army: the popes holynes should now estoones set forth that overture with all effect: which being admitted and accepted, the realme of Naples shall be out of the ffrenchmen for this time, and the duchy of Myllan nevertheles is not omitted ne lost from th'emperor, but may p'case either be restored unto him, or ordered unto his contentment; and the ffrench king, not being sure of the successes either in Naples or in the sayd duchy, condescending hereunto, may save himself and his people, returne home with his honor, come unto truce with th'emperor and the king; wherof, God willing, may ensue a good peace, and yee be in good apparence to have heble appointment concerning the duchy of Mylayn to his contentac'on hereafter; soe as the emperors ffolkes, in avoyding the danger that may ensue to loose both Mylayn and Naples, if they take wise wayes ought to condescend hereunto; whereby they may be sure to save th'one and not loose th'other. And the ffrench king, being not yet sure to acquire either of them, and standing not out of danger of his enemies, never like to enjoy bothe countries in quiet, if he had recovered them: and having his p'son, honor, army, and reputation, at hazard, shall put the same in suretie, returne with as great honor for the time as can be devised, and yet be in good apparence of the duchy of Mylayn, or of the disposition thereof to his contentment, as is aforesayd; besides the emolu-

ment that may grow unto him by the meanes hereof to come, God willing, to a good peace. And, to th'intent it may evidentlie appeare, that there shall lack nothing on the kings behalfe which convenientlie may be done to the furtherance of these matters, his grace hath not only willed his principall secretary, Mr. Ric. Pace, to repaire unto the Venetians at this time, to sollicite the speedy setting forwards of their army, as is aforesayd, but also sir Gregory Cassallys unto the viceroy of Naples, to exhort him unto the p'misses, as by the cobby of their instructions being herewith yee shall p'ceive; willing and com'anding also, that sir John Russell, for the better advancement of the common affaires, and advertisement to be given of the successes from time to time, shall passe unto the duke of Burbon, and reside about him for a season; who also, if the case shall soe require, and the kings grace is contented, shall repaire hither, to th'intent for lacking wayes of truce some anoyance may be done on this side by his meanes, as shall be thought most convenient. Ascertainyng you that Mr. Secretary is comanded, among other things, to say unto the Venetians, that if the breaking their pacts, bands, and convenc'ons, with th'emperor, should give unto the ffrench king comoditie to attaine the realme of Naples, the kings highnes cannot repute them as the emperors ffrends, but rather his enemies; and will not faile soe to accept them also unto his grace. And, further, he shall seacretlie say, unto the duke and councill of Venice, that it is not knowne unto the kings highnes, how inhumanly the Spaniards have ordered themselves in Italie, giving therby cause and occasion to such as favor th'emperors party to decline from the same; and rather to desire to suffer the ffrench party there, not being soe cruell as the Spaniards. But he shall say that the matters well proceeding at this time, the kings highnes trusteth to doe soe much with th'emperor that he shall have the investiture of the duchy of Myllayn clearly unto the duke of the same; wherby Italie may be delivered both from the ffrenchmen and also the Spaniards. Which thing,

if yee also say unto the popes holynes, it shall p'adventure the more animate and encourage him to put his hand to the expulsion of the Ffrenchmen, trusting therby to deliver Italie both of them and also of the Spaniards, as is aforesayd. Wherefore, seeing the matters brought to such extreme hazard as is here reported, if the popes holines love God himself, and the weale of X'pendome, now is the time, since the three things be soe faysible, to shew the same, which if his holines neglect, unles there be other good remedy, or the matters in other trayne then is here knowne, if the inconveniences before specified shall fortune to ensue thereof, the kings highnes, I, and other which thus would give unto the popes holines wholesome admonic'on and exhortac'on, be discharged before God and the world, and the culpe, dishonor, blame, and reproche, shall be imputed unto those who have deserved the same. In declaration of the p'misses unto the popes holines, yee must use great circumspection; for if yee shall p'ceive, that his holines doth noe great thing in favor of the ffrench partie, but rather for feare than otherwise, and that yee see no contrary apparence, but that upon good grounds his holines may be induced to experiment the sayd devices, then shall it be good to open the same unto him; but if yee doe know his holines totally affectionate unto the ffrench partie, then shall it be dangerous to open unto him the seacrets of the kings mynd and opinion, lest he should discover the same unto the Ffrenchmen; but that, declaring unto his holines the sayd danges eminent to the see apostolique, and all p'per done, to keep yourself within good limits in opening such parte of the rest as yee shall think expedient.

“And albeit, that by letters sent from th' emperor to his ambassador here resident, whereof yee shall herewith receave the coppie, it is written that he hath sent into Italie the somme of 200,000 ducats; yet, nevertheless, inasmuch as it is not certaine, whether that money be arrived or shall come in time or not, the kings highnes is content that yee, seeing and p'ceiving the matters there to be in such traine and disposic'on, that not only

the lack of a small sum of money might be the cause or occasion of the ruine of the whole, yee shall, in that case, rather than all good opportunity should be omitted, advance unto the sayd emperors army before battaile stricken as much part of the sayd 50,000 crownes, as upon your last exchange made remayned behinde, wherin the kings highnes and I trust your accustomed wisdom and discretion not to be over hastie therein, unles yee may see that the lack thereof may be to the extreme perill, and the having thereof, a perfect and high advantage unto the suretie of the present affaires in time of extreme necessitie.

“ Yee shall furthermore p'ceive, by coppie of th' emperors sayd letters, how firmelie his majestie is determined to the defence of his causes in Italie, which thing is by the popes holines well to be considered, and noe despaire to be taken for that his usage to the ffrench king, who hitherto, as farr as is knowne here, hath gained neither strong places, ne also any honor by this enterprise, th' emperor, either by himself or by his ffrends, shall be unpurveyed to defend and maintayne his right, honor, and reputacon, whatsoever successe, good or bad, the ffrench king shall have at this time, which thing in good manner yee may extend unto his holines, as yee shall see the time and opportunity to require.

“ Finally, I send unto you herewith a coppie of such overtures, as by the archb'p of Capua, at his coming from the ffrench king to th' emperor, were proposed, and of th' answeare made unto the same, which both of th' one party and th' other be so sclender, and of soe small effect, that little regard is to be had therunto; and, among other things, yee may well assure his holines, that whatsoever sinister report may be spredd by the Frenchmen or other, of any practise made on this side with France, by reason of the being here of my lady the ffrench kings mothers servant, or by any other p'son that may be sent hither on the ffrench kings behalfe; his holines shall p'fectlie trust; that nothing is meant, or shall be passed or concluded here, directlie

or indirectlie, but by th' emperors consent, and as the popes holines shall be made privie; but that if any reasonable offers shall fortune to be made for the kings behalfe, the same shall be intimated, both to the emperor for his consent, and to the popes holines for knowledge, before any thing shall be concluded; and his holines, as I have allwayes written, to have the honor and finall doing thereof, as the very author of the same.

No. V.

From CARDINAL WOLSEY to the King's Ambassadors at the Imperial Court.

" My Lord of London and Mr. Wingfield,—I comend me unto you in my right hearty manner. Since my last letters written unto you, I have receyved letters from the bishop of Bathe, the cobby whereof I send you herewith, perceyving, as well by tenor thereof, as by relation of the popes nuncio here resident, that his holines is now mynded to enter a league, offensive and defensive, with the kings highnes and th' emperor, as they shall reasonably devise. There is also in the sayd letters menc'on made of certayne motions, devised by the Venetians and Florentines, for a league defensive to be made betwene the pope and states of Italie, which, for the considerations specified in the same letters, the popes holines, as he affirmeth, doth refuse. It appeareth, furthermore, of what towardnes the pope was in, at the last to have the realme of Ffrance deminished of certayne great porcions, and the ffrench kings oldest sonne to be admitted unto the crowne thereof, with other matters right necessary for you to know before your coming to th' emperor; for w'ch cause I thought convenient to send you the sayd cobby, as well to th' intent you should know the popes mynd and inclination herein, as also for that yee may, as yee see cause, give more

ample knowledge to th' emperor, what is spoken of, and may be done and devised, in case his majestie should take any other way at this time, then were consonant unto the mutual kindnes and intelligence betwene the kings grace and him, which is a thing right meete to be notified unto him, to th' intent he may knowe the kings highnes doth not lack wayes and overtures enough made unto his grace, which might be to the p'ticular profit of his highnes, if the same would, in any part, decline from th' emperor; and shall the rather induce and move his majestie to concurr and joine in one proceeding and perfect conformity with the kings highnes, at this present time.

“ Yee may perceive also what was reported to the popes holines, touching th' intent of my lady the ffrench kings mother, to repaire unto th' emperor, which thing I can right well believe, ascertain^s. you, that in case th' emperor doe admitt her unto his presence, and that she come with power of th' estates of France to treat, com'une, and conclude, it is hard to think that th' emperor shall condescend to the p'sonall invasion, or doe any great feate of warr, till he shall see what frute shall ensue of the sayd treaty.

“ And surely th' incertainty of that matter considered, and that though also the shires of this realme shew themselves hitherto as conformable as can be devised to make the contribuc'on unto the kings grace; yet, nevertheles, it is not certain in how speedy and good manner the same may be levyed. Rememb'ring, furthermore, that passing into Normandy the kings highnes cannot furnish himself of noe lease victualls then for eight dayes, which will be very difficile to doe, and that victuall spent or not spent, it is doubtful how the passage may be had by Blanchelake, which fayling, the kings grace should have on his back Monstel, Heding, Tyrwyn, and Boleyn; I have for these causes, by great persuasions, induced the kings highnes to be contented, that my lord of Norfolke, with his vanguard, and those appointed in the rereward, which in the whole will amount unto the number of 20,000 men and more,

besides the ayde of Fflanders, shall somewhat in the more diligence passe before, and that his grace shall demore here, till such time as more certainty may be had, as well of the emperors mynd and intent, how the money may be levied, and also what succede of taking of the sayd passage of Blanchlake, and therupon his highnes to proceede, after his best comodity and pleasure.

“ Besides this, I have shewed unto th’ emperors ambassadors here resident, like as also yee maye notifie unto th’ emperor, what divers wayes be studied and devised in Italie and other parts to divert the kings good mynd and concurrence from the emperor, with the feare conceyved by them, that chiefly and principally by means of the first intelligence betwene the kings grace and him, his majestie having my lady princesse in marriage, is like to aspire unto the monarchy of X’pēdome; and, among other things, I have declared unto them an offer made unto the kings highnes of 50,000 ducatts, to be given unto his grace by the potentates of Italie, towards the mayntenance of his warrs against Ffrance, with their concurrence, that the ffrench kings eldest sonne may have the crowne thereof, the kings highnes having right large porc’ons of his patrymonies there, soe that the king would give unto the same sonne my lady princesse in marriage, and consequentlie satisfie to their doubt and feare of the sayd monarchy; soe as there lack noe wayes, if the kings grace would hearken thereunto, how his highnes, regarding only his owne comodity, might right well doe his feate w’tout th’ emperor; all which things his grace hath utterly refused.

“ The Scotts, also, have now offered that, having my lady princesse given in marriage unto the young king, they will deliver him into the kings hands, with certaine townes and places on the borders, and utterly abandon Ffrance for ever: which thing, also, the kings highnes hath expressely refused, saying that his grace will never violate or breake his promise made unto th’ emperor, but that his majestie shall have her in marriage. In suchwise as the

scottish ambassadors be dep'ted without any conclusion of peace, truce, or appointm^t. Wherefore, all the p'misses considered, the kings highnes specially trusteth that th' emperor, shewing mutual correspondence of kindnes, will in all offers or motions stay himself, not doing or passing any thing without the kings consent, like as his grace, for th' emperors sake, refuseth all the co'modities offered for his partie.

"All which p'misses shall be good grounds wherupon yee may the more binde upon th' emperor to p'forme such things as on the kings parte be desired, not doubting but, by your great wisdomes and discretions, yee will order the same accordinglie.

"Yee shall understand, the kings highnes and I be advertised that don Diego de Moncada is sent by the viceroi unto th' emperor; and in his company, at the ffrench kings request, be also passed Byron and Monmorancy, who, of likelihood, be sent to make a meane and waye for the repaire thither of my lady the ffrench kings mother.

"I also send unto you herewith, a copy of a writing delivered unto me by the popes orators, and sent to them by the archb'p of Capua, in confirmac'on of such things as be menc'oned in my lord of Bathes letters, and how that John Matheas noe more meddleth with th' affaires of the state, but that the same be now co'mitted wholly to the sayd Capuan, soe that now John Mattheas only meddleth with the dating of bulls; which if he had soe done before, had bene to the popes great honor and reputac'on. At my place besides Westminster, the vijth day of Aprill, 1525.

"Yo^r. loving ffrend,

"C. CARLIS. EBOR.

"To my loving brother in Christ the bishop of London, and my loving ffrende sir Richard Wingefelde, knight, the kings ambassador to th' emperor."

No. VI.

FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY.

“ Mr. SAMPSON,—I comend me unto you, in my right heartie manner, by the hands of Mons^r. de Rieux, who, as I understand, lay a long season in the West Countries upon his passage for default of a convenient wynde, I wrote unto you my last letters*, wherein I advertised you such overtures as were made here by the sayd de Rieux on the duke of Burbons behalfe, and of the answere given unto him upon the same, with such other matter as was then occurrent; declaring, among other things, the kings firme deliberac^on nothing to p^rtermitt on this parte, which might conferr unto the advancement of the com^on affaires, with the great desire of his highnes and of me to know and understand th^r emperors mynd, what his majestie intendeth or thinketh good to be done or sett forth against the com^on enemy this yeare, in case some hob^{le}. peace or appointment doe not succede to their reasonable satisfacc^on and contentment. In all w^{ch} matters and other then written unto you, the kings highnes and I attend with great desire to have answere, considering that the spring of the yeare co^venenable for preparations passeth fast on, and that soe great matters as these be, would be foreseene and provided in tyme. In the meane season, the kings highnes putteth as good order as may be, to the towardnes of his preparac^ons at home, doth not cease, by all wayes and meanes that can be studied or devised, as th^r emperors affaires doe succede in Italie, to further, helpe, and advance the same; and much the rather, because his highnes, supposing before that the emperor had given assured order unto the matters of the duchy of

* The intention of Henry to prosecute the war vigorously.

Mylayn, was nevertheles long since the depeche of my last letters to you advertised out of Italie, that noe letters, word, or knowledge, was then arrived there from th' emperor, since the discent of the ffrench king into that duchie; which thing the kings grace and I thought verily to proceede, either of contrariety of winde, or by reason of th' emperors late sicknes of a ffever, or of some other adverse chaunce or misfortune; and his highnes, mynding like a most loving and tender father and perfect ffrende, to supply the default with as much help as then could be done on this side, being advertised that the ffrench king made sundry demonstrac'ons and visages to send the duke of Albany with a power into the realme of Naples, and that the popes holines began to runne in suspic'on, that he inclined overmuch to the ffrench partie, doubting also least the Venecians and other might doe the semblable. After divers letters at sundry times, written both to the popes sayd holines, the infant don Fferdinando, the viceroy of Naples, the duke of Burbon, and other, comfortinge and exhortinge them to all such things, as might sound to the benefit of the emperors causes, and the suretie both of Naples and Mylayn, not only depeched his trusty servant, sir Gregory de Cassalis, to passe in diligence unto the sayd infant, duke of Burbon and viceroy of Naples, but also sent his trusty counsaillour, Mr. Rich^d. Pace, then lying at Trent, unto the seigniory of Venice; wrote, furthermore, unto the bishop of Bathe, the kings orator in the court of Rome, and appointed sir John Russell to repaire and reside with the duke of Burbon, to such intent, effect, and purpose, as by the instructions and letters, the coppies whereof I send you herewith, yee shall p'ceave at great length, being soe devised, ordered, and cowched, in every point, that by the same may evidently and largely appear how like an assured ffrende and most kinde father, the kings highnes, as well in adversitie as in prosperitie, doth tender the honor, causes, and matters, of the sayd emperor; wherin, as may appeare, his grace p'termitted nothing that might be thought to confer or conduce to

the weale thereof, and to put remedy to all inconveniences, if any were, as by the informac'on and advertisement had out of Italie, there was assuredlie before the depeche of the sayd sir Gregory an apparence of some danger like to ensue to th' emperors sayd matters, if speedie remedy were not adhibited and provided: ffor by letters of the bishop of Bathe it appeared, that the popes holines, in his conferences with him, shewed himself in much more feare and doubt of the ffrench king, alleaging sundry reasons and introduc'ons, whereby might arise some scruple or suspicion, that his holines was not soe steadfast in the emperors causes as was supposed; and, besides, that it was reported, that the duke of Albany was set forth towards Placencia, making a countenance to passe into Naples. Wherupon the kings highnes, doubting least some inconvenience might arise unto th' emperors sayd matters for lack of knowledge had in Italy from his majestie, and being advertised that the Frenchmen under colour of being here of John Joachym, made their avaunt, that they were well assured of the kings grace, made the sayd depeches, not only thereby to stay the pope, Venetians, and other potentates of Italy, from concluding of any thing with the french king, or at the least upon the great and weighty considerac'ons mentioned in the sayd copies, to withdraw and allect them from doing any thing passed or p'mised to the same ffrench king, if any such were; but also to shew unto them and all other a manifest comprobac'on of the kings firme and deliberate mynde, assuredlie to leane with all effect, unto the defence and mayntenance of the sayd emperors affaires, and to remove all such opinion as upon report of the Ffrenchmen they might conceive to the contrary.

“ Yee shall, either by translation of the sayd coppies into Ffrench, or Latyn, or otherwise, after the kings most cordiall, and my due and humble recomendac'ons made unto the sayd emperor; and after declarac'on made of the p'misses, shew and notifie at full length unto his majestie and counsaile, the very effect, order, forme, and manner, of the same; which, if misinterpre-

taç'ons and sinister reports doe not take more place than the truth, must needs of congruence be in the most thankful and agreeable parte by them accepted, wherein there is one matter of great and weightie importance, that, of very necessity, in avoyding sundry inconvenients which that ells might ensue to the hindrance of the rooted love and perfect intelligence being betwene the king and th'emperor, I am, of force, and in manner against my will, compelled to cause at this time plainly to be signified unto the sayd emperor; for if I should any longer hide the same from his majestie I doubt that there might great hindrance and detryment grow therby, unto his owne causes and affaires, like as it is to be supposed, that, by reason that the matter was not till now here perfectlie and thoroughlie comprehended and knowne, noe little damage hath hitherto ensued to the com'on enterprises.

“ It hath bene of a long season, and from sundry parts, reported unto the kings highnes and to me at divers times, that Mons^r de Praet, who resideth here ambassador for the emperor, hath continually bene a man disposed and inclined to make, in his letters and writings, both to the emperor and the lady Margaret, seditious and sinister reports; saying many times, upon his own fantasie, suspicion, and conjecture, things clearly untrue, and compassing at other times, when things have bene done, sayd, or sett forth, ffrendly, kindlie, and lovinglie, soe to cowch his reports, and the circumstances of the doings thereof, as though the gratuities shewed by the kings highnes have from time to time been conduced by the industrie, pollicy, and labour of the sayd ambassadors; ascribing, therefore, the laude and thank therof unto himself, wherby he might acquire the more grace and favor of the sayd emperor and lady Margaret. To these things the kings highnes and I were not over hasty to give soone credence; but, supposing the sayd ambassador to be a p'sonage of more vertue and inclinac'on to good then now he proveth to be, I would some times admonish him, in general words, of such adver-

tisement; exhorting and advising him to be well wary how he, being a minister betwene two princes so neerly conjoynd in intelligence, should attempt or doe any thing to the hindrance thereof; but rather, regarding the office of a good ambassador to doe that in him is for the nourishing and increase of the same. Wherein he alwayes made me such answere that I conceived noe further suspicion or jealousy towards him in that behalfe; being therfore the more franke and plaine with him in all my conferences, as he, that for the singuler good mynd which I have alwayes borne unto the emperors honor, weale, and suretie, would procede with his majestie sincerely, plainely, and truelie. And as familiarly, kindly, and lovinglie, hath the kings highnes and I admitted, entertayned, and used, the sayd de Prate, at all times, as the most hearty love betwene the kings highnes and his majestie doth require, making him privie, and having him present, at all such co'icac'ons and accesses have bene of other princes, ambassadors, or of any matter worthy advertisement or knowledge; to the intent that he, unto whom the kings highnes and I have referred the reports of the same, should make most credible and plaine relac'on thereof unto th'emperor and other, to whom it appertained.

“Among other, after myne accustomed manner, when I had, the xjth day of this instant moneth, receaved letters from Mr. Pace, bearing date at Trent, the xxvjth and xxviiijth days of January, the coppies wherof I send you here inclosed, specyfyng such newes of Italy as then were come to his knowledge, and understanding by the relac'on of Brian Tuke, that had sent unto the sayd ambassador a pacquett of letters come from my lady Margarett, I sent a servant of myne to the sayd ambassad^r, desiring him to take the paines in the afternoone to repaire unto me, as well to th'intent I might make him p'ticipant of such newes as the kings highnes and I had receaved, as also to understand whether he had any good newes in confirmation of the same. Unto whom, on his coming in the presence of the duke of Norfolke, and some others of the kings counsailes, and also of th'ambassador of Myllayn,

who came with him, I read the sayd letters and newes, declaring the same unto them formally, in the Latyn tongue; wherewith, for as much as there was matter therein of right good tenor and effect, we all rejoyced and were glad. And, proceeding unto the particularities, we devised and conject'ed upon the making of the three bridges by the ffrench king over the river of Ty'cyn'r, which we interpreted to be done rather for his better comoditie to flee, seeing his carriages that might full well have served to the fortifying of his campe, were allready transported then otherwise. We spake also of the doubts that might be, least the emperors army, continuing long in the ffield, should lack money, wherein the sayd ambassador inferred, that those which had already holpen the ffrench king with money and victualls, naming the pope, the duke of Fferrare, the Fflorentines, and other, ought also of good congruence to helpe unto the continuance of th' emperors army. Herennto I answered, that the com'ing of sir Gregory de Cassalis should highlie conferr unto those affaires; for as much as not only he should bring unto the army some comfort of money, and other good knowledge of the kings fast mynd, which might the rather encourage them unto the battaile; but that also, by the sending of Mr. Pace to Venice, and of my letters to Rome, I trusted the Venecians should be the more glad to continue fast unto th'emperor, and that the popes holines of likelyhoode, upon the great cons'ons of me alleaged, would change his coppie; saying, as truth was, that the sayd sir Gregory, who dep'rtd from hence upon th'emperors affaires, as far as could be knowne here, the distances of the places considered, were in most apparence of despaire, should by his coming, God willing, revive the same, having allwayes spetiall trust that the popes holines would change his copy as is aforesayd; which, the state of X'pendome well considered, app'taine unto his holines to doe, if he would be a good ffather and head of Christs religion. And if, neglecting the same, his holines would not doe th'office of a com'on ffather, but rather as a private person or a chaplaine,

as adhering unto Ffrance, the ffrench king would not faile to make him like as I also plainely wrote to be shewed unto his holines, on my behalfe, by the bishop of Bathe, as by the coppies yee may p'ceave, then he must be taken accord^e to his acts and meritts. Ffinally, it was devised among us, and I shewed myne opinion, what were expedient to be done, in case the ffrench king, as the chaunce of battaile is uncertaine, should either be overthrowne in the same, or be compelled to retire, and flee into Ffrance. And in this matter I sayd expedient it were, that th'emperor and the kings highnes should take substantial wayes and meanes for pursuing of the victory, wherin I doubted not but the kings highnes my master would doe for his parte as much as should be requisite; saying, that I would, with all diligence, cause an expedic'on to be made into Spaine for this purpose; and other matters, wherin it is necessary to know th'emperors mynde with diligence. These, and other semblable devices, we had to this effect; and with the same the sayd ambassador, seeming to be joyous and well contented, giving unto me thanks on th'emperors behalfe, dep'ted.

“Three days before that, as many times is here accustomed, it was appointed that, as that night following, which was the xjth day at night, a privie watch should be made in London, and by a certaine cercoute and space about it: in the which watch was taken, passing betwene London and Brainford, by certaine of the watch appointed to that quarter, one ryding towards the sayd Brainford, who, examined by the watch, answered soe closely, that upon suspicion thereof they searched him, and found seacretly hid about him a little pacquet of letters, subscribed in ffrench, which the sayd watch p'ceaving, brought the letters unto a man of lawes clarke, being of the same company; who, supposing the bearer of them to be either a spie or a messenger from some merchant, stranger, or other, intendinge to disclose things unto th'emperor, and p'ceaving the sayd pacquett to be in the taking of it, by the unlearned men of the watch, broken, and evil handled, looked

in the letters. And, thinking the same, by reason of the ciphers, more suspect, brought it unto the kings solicitor, being in the same watch; who, not acquainted with the name of the sayd de Prate, brought the letters soe opened unto sir Tho^s Moore, being in another watch neere unto the same; and he presented them in the morning following, unto me, being in the Chauncery at Westminster; which, when I had read, knowing how farr the effect of them was discrepant from the truth, anon I conceived the former advertisements made unto me touching the sayd ambassadors accustomed usage, in making sinister reports, to be true. And, p'ceyving by the sayd letters, that albeit the usage is not here that strangers should passe through the realme without a passport, yet one of the foulkes was depeched by the sayd ambassador the day before with letters towards Spaine,—wherin it was like there might be as evill or worse report then in these, I with all diligence sent to countermande the sayd former letters, or any other depeched at that time by the sayd ambassador. And soe was taken also a pacquet of his letters directed to my lady Margarett. Which original letters, directed unto th'emperor, with copies of those addressed unto my lady Margarett, viewed and overlooked, and the untruth menc'oned in them deprehended, I send unto your hands herewith, as well because th'emperor may know such things as his folkes on this side doe advertise his majestie of, which may conferr to the furtherance of his affaires; as also, because the same may hereby the more assuredlie and p'fectlie understand and p'ceave, that the sayd de Praet hath of likelyhood contrived noe few matters untrue and feyned in his letters sent of a long season, as well into Spaine as into Fflanders, wherof there is much apparence, by reason of such proceeding, strange demeanour, and suspicion, as hath seemed to have bene had towards the kings grace, both on that side and in Fflanders of a good season, soe that it is evident to be conjectured that the sayd de Praet hath done more hart, detriment, and damage, by his evill reports in the comon affaires, then

ever he can be able to reduble or amend; and surely has by the same deserved much more blame than I will reherce. And what the kings grace and his counsaile may think by the words contained in the sayd ambassadors letters directed to Mr. John Allemayn, finding exception in the kings amity and ffriendship, as though the same hath bene either nothing or very faynt and sclender, I remitt to the emperor and his counsaile, after sight of the same letters, to judge and consider; thinking very strange that the sayd ambassador would or durst soe write unto Mr. John Allmayn, being soe well acquainted with th'emperors seacretts and privities as he is, unles he had before this time p'ceived semblable opinion to be imprinted in some of their mynds on that side; which if it soe be, there is as great injury done unto the kings highnes as ever was to noble and gracious prince in this world; who, for th'emperors sake, and to doe unto his majestie all honor, gratitude, and pleasure, possible, hath done more then in tyme of mans memory can be found, that ever one prince hath done for another. The particularities whereof shall not neede to be rehearsed, for asmuch as they be well known by ffriends and enemies through all Xp'endome; and that such rehearsall should be in manner but an exprobac'on, seeing also that the kings firme truste and confidence is, th'emperor of his great wisdom, and the vertuous and discreete men of his counsaile, have large experience, and doe right well know and consider the same; any such reports, fayned or contrived tales, devised by such indiscreete and inexpert p'sons as the sayd de Praet is, notwithstanding. And surely, if it had not bene that the kings grace, of his goodnes, did benignly and lovingly accept such ministers as th'emperor would depute to doe his busines here, without making exception at any of them, his grace long before this time would have advertised the emperor, that the sayd de Praet hath alwayes shewed himself a man of insufficient qualities, inexperte, and farr unmeete to such a province as is com'itted to him from soe great a prince. Nevertheles, for th'emperors honor and

pleasure, the kings grace hath lovinglie tolerate his inabilitie, and studied to supply the same the best that might be, as he that would not too soone reprove the thing w'ch by th'emperor and his counsell was thought good and approved. But if the emperor, knowing the untrue and most perilous demeanour of the sayd de Praet, who cannot be taken here but for a suspect and indigne person, will still continue him here as his ambassador, not only the kings highnes and I shall be in great dread to call him to any matters of importance, but also of all likelihood, he shall, as farr as in him may be, doe great damage to the com'on affaires, causing the entire confidence that hitherto hath bene, and, as I trust (his sinister reports notwithstanding), yet is betwene the two princes, rather to decrease and diminish, than to be augmented. Which sort of ministers is necessary to be removed, and other, mynding the furtherance of good amitie and good intelligence, to be subrogate in their places. The ordering whereof the kings highnes remitteth to the great wisdom of the sayd emperor and his counsell.

“And, as to my part, though it pleased him to write, that in sending for him to me, as is aforesayd, I did more honor unto him then I had done in the three years that he hath bene here, I am the lesse miscontented with his untrue report, for asmuch as the contrary is soe evident and well known, and can be as plainly testified, by other of the emperors counsellors and servants w'ch hath bene present with him, not only at many conferences of importance, but also at other times, when I might shew unto him honor, cheere, or demonstrac'on of love for his masters sake, that I doubt not as little credence shall be given therunto as to the rest of his ciphers and open writing, shewing and approving manifestly his untruth, overmuch trust in his own witt, and evident dissimulac'on. And semblably the obscure and dark words conveyed in his letters, to full malicious purpose, concerning the popes holines, be as little to be regarded. Which words, because he could not dilate by any specialties to be of other sort then good and

hoble, he would conveniently cloake to be interpreted, understanden, and taken to some p'verse sense and p'pose. Nevertheles, for my parte, it sufficeth and I repute it as a thing which was Gods will, that by a misfortune his p'ilous demeanour is at the last deprehended; wherby th'emperor may have cause to remove any thing that might p'case be imprinted in his conceipt or mynd, touching such other evill reports as the sayd de Praet hath made heretofore, either of the kings highnes or of my proceeding, and provide by his wisdome for avoyding of semblable inconveniences hereafter.

" Yee shall shew unto th'emperor, that soone after I had deprehended these matters I desired the sayd de Praet to come and speak with me; where were present, the duke of Norfolke, my lord Marques (of Dorset), the bishop of London, sir R^d Wingfield, and other of the kings privie counsell, of whom many had heard my conference the day before with the sayd ambassador; to whom in good and plaine manner I declared the manner, forme, and chaunce of taking the sayd letters in the watch, and by what means they came open first to those of the watch unlearned, and after broken and opened unto sir Thomas Mores hands, and soe unto myne. Which occasion moving me, upon knowledge of the contents therein, to stopp and intercept his other letters, proceeding particularly unto some speciall causes menc'oned in the same, wherein me thought the sayd ambass^r had done unto the kings highnes and to me expresse injury and wrong, and of likelyhood had by many former writings imprinted in th'emperors, my lady Margaretts, and other their counsaillors mynds, some sinister opinion far discrepant from the truth, considering that in one and in other of these letters now intercepted, be menc'oned divers seditious words and clauses, as followeth.

" Ffirst, in his letters to th'emperor he writeth, this clause depending upon the matters touching the popes holines, the Fflorentines and other, 'Et quer silz ne le veulent fe p' bean lez yconstranidtre singuelerein^t le pere St; le menassant de le destituer de sa dignitie et sembler moyens.' Wherein

I sayd he imputed unto me, being a cardinall and the popes legate de latere, in manner noe lesse culpe then is crimen lesæ ma^{ti}s. And ensuinglie he hath cowched feyned words, touching the depech of sir Gregory, as though I should avaunt or think the victory, if any be, to proceede only upon the depeche of the same sir Gregory, which was never by me thought, ne th'one or other of the sayd matters otherwise by me spoken, meant, or uttered, then is before touched in the beginning of this letter. And, though it were not convent that any labour should be used for translation of the clauses, being in cipher, yet the open letters p^{re}ceding might, and following the same doe, give a great light and argument to what evil end the ciphers doe tend, speciall being in his letter to Mr. John Allemayn these words inserted, 'Si nous pourrons gaigner la batail, tout fra bien lors q' me ne se s' bonte, hors de dangier de telz amyes et confederez quil a eut jusques a cest heure. Et fault encores q' le dye q'l'est pentenn a eulx tous tanz quilz sont.' These words, by marvailous strange touching, as well by the speciall words confederez, as by the generall words 'tous tant quilz sont,' not me, but the kings highnes, to whom he would affirme th'emperor were a little beholden. Besides that in his letters to the count of Hogstrate he writeth these words, 'quant les choses succedent bien, il ne stet q' dire; et q^{an}t elles vont aultrem^t, il dist m'veiles, et semble q' luy et les siens facent le tout, et q' tout la rest ne sevr de riens. J'espere de voir une foix nostre mastre vengie.' How these words sound, and whether in my proceedings I have deserved such thanke of th'emperor, or that his majestie should be once revenged upon me, which may be taken by those words, 'luy et les siens,' I report me to all wise men. Over this what a suspicion he would my lady Margaret should conceive, by the kings coming to Bridewell, because John Joachym was lodged neere to the same, his letters directed to Mons^r de Tholouse doe declare. And, as well by other his letters directed to the same de Tholouse, as by those written partly in ciphers to Mons^r de Hogstrate, ap-

peareth how evill pleased the sayd de Praet is with the coming hither of the ambassadors now as it is sayd depeched from my lady Margaret, fearing of likelihood that they should dep'hend some part of his untrue and p'ilous dealing. Wherefore, after objection unto him of the p'misses, I desired him to shew by what meanes he could pretend to justifie any part of the sayd reports, and to put in writing such things as he affirmed in his sayd letters to Mons^r de Hoghstrate he had in his memory to be shewed unto the kings highnes my master.

“ Saying furthermore, that his grace is a prince of such great wisdome, knowledg, and experience in his affaires, that I, whom his highnes doth put in soe singular trust and speciall confidence, would be loth to say or doe any thing in soe great matters as these be, before I had first well and substantially known the mynd and pleasure of his grace, and bene by the same comanded soe to doe; ne I may or will of myself take upon me, without the authority, knowledge, or expresse comandment of his highnes, either to doe or undoe, wherby the sayd ambassador, or any other, might take ground to write or report that I could be the cause of any evill that his majestie hath at this present time; but rather, it should seeme, that the sayd ambassador would think or meane that either my master is a prince of soe small knowledge or counsaile, that I may doe in his great affaires what I will, or ells he would impute covertly unto his highnes that thing which openly he arrecteth unto me; for what fervent and tender zeale and affection I have in all my proceedings and doings with his highnes borne at all times unto the emperors causes and matters, noe p'son living can better judge than the king my sayd master can. Concluding, therefore, that since the kings acts and meritts towards th'emperor have bene of such sort, as is not unknowne through all Xp'en-dome, the sayd ambassador could doe noe worse service to his master, than thus to study, conspire, and imagine, how he may sowe jealousie, suspic'on, and unkindnes, between his majesty and his best ffrends, seeming to be a

thing proceeding of an untrue disposic'on of the sayd de Praet, towards th' emperor, whose affaires cannot more be hindered by his greatest enemy, then by such meanes, rather then of any good mynd that he hath to concerne and increase good love and intelligence betwene the both princes. And whether the kings excellent gratuities shewed unto th'emperors majestie be to be recompensed either with one's deliverance of him from such ffrends and confederates as the kings grace is, or with trust once to be revenged as the sayd ambass^r writeth he doth hope, I report me to the judgment and discrec'on of all good and wise men. And, for my parte, I had well trusted, and yet doe (the seditious reports of the sayd de Praet notwithstanding) that th'emperors majestie had and doth otherwise interprete and accept myne acts and proceedings, then it seemeth the same de Praet would they should be accepted, or ells I might have cause to thinke many labours, travailes, studies, and paines, taken with most glad hart, to doe unto his majestie all honor, service, and pleasure, to me possible, not soe well collocate as I supposed, and in manner thinke and firmly believe them to be, wherein th'order to be used by his majestie for punishment of this great error and offence comitted by the sayd ambass^r, shall be a great demonstrac'on, light, and apparence, hereafter.

“ Hereunto the sayd Praet being not a little abashed, ne without cause, made first exception at the intercepting of his letters, as he that would not give credence to the manner of their interception, and the opening of them, by a fortunate error, as is aforesayd, saying that ambassadors doe write unto their princes that which in their conceipt is thought good, referring the judgment unto others. He affirmed also, that till this time it could not, ne should be ever found in any of his letters, that he hath made any evill report, either of the kings highnes or of me, as by his originall letters, which he sayd he desired and would be gladd should and might be shewed, he would be judged, and that the cause and occasion moving him thus to write at this

time, was only the being here of John Joachym by viij moneths, the difficulty made to condescend unto the truce proposed at Rome, the not avancing of an army on this side, as was spoken of, and the refusal of the kings highnes to contribute any thing to the defence of Italy. To this I answered, I could not a little marvaile, that he, whom the kings highnes and I have allwayes privie of the successes, would or could suspect or judge any evill herein, considering, that, as to the coming here of John Joachym, I, at the being here of the archb'p of Capua, shewed unto the sayd ambassador, and wrote semblably to you, to be declared unto th'emperor, that where the popes holines made overture of a truce to be taken at Rome, the king my master was not mynded to condescend thereunto, but with three things: one is, that th'emperor were first agreed and contented with the same: secondly, that there might be an apparence how in the time of truce might follow a good peace betwene all three princes: thirdly, inasmuch as hard, and almost impossible, it should be to make the popes holines so ripe in the kings particular causes as were needful, that one should be sent hither from the ffrench king, or at the least from my lady regent of Ffrance, which might make offers for the kings p'tie; and the same found reasonable, to advertise th'emperor thereof. To whom the kings and myne opinion was, another person should be also sent for making of semblable offers unto his majestie for his p'tie; soe that, both princes pleased, the peace might be concluded at Rome, by mutual consent; and the popes holines to have the honor, as author and conducuer of the same. Upon the returne of the which archbishop of Capua through Ffrance, the sayd John Joachym, shewing himself to be a merchant, and come for his owne causes to Boloigne, with mynde to repaire into this realme for merchandize, desired a safeconduct soe to doe. And, albeit I suspected it might be but a colour, and that he were some p'sonage sent by the ffrench kings consent, for which cause the safeconduct was graunted, yet, nevertheles, in eight dayes after his coming he never dis-

closed unto me what he was ; but continentlie shewed himself desirous that some good waye were taken betwene the princes. As soone as upon my strayt examinac'on he discovered himself, and that he was sent from the lady regent, I made Mons^r de Praet privie thereof, and of his sclender charge, with the answeare given unto him upon the same, praying him to advertise th'emperor and my lady Margaret, as I also would doe, and did the semblable. And from time to time, since that season, I have not failed to make the sayd ambassador privie of all that hath bene done, spoken, or comoned with the sayd Joachym, who was lodged in a house within the Blackfriars, belonging to a Mr. Larke, whom yee know, to th'intent I would have an eye upon him, being sent from an enemy, that he should, as he cannot, ne doth send or receayve any letters or messages but by my knowledge. Howbeit, against the king's coming to Bridewell he was removed from that lodginge. And what I have written unto you herein, to be signified unto th'emp^r, my sundry letters, if they be safely arrived, can beare witnes. The kings highnes and I also continually have made in this time the popes holines privie to every of the p'misses, shewing allwayes, that for noe messenger, ambassador, or other that might come out of Ffrance with offers, whatsoever they were, his grace would never conclude any thing with the ffrench king but with th'emperors expresse knowledge, consent, will, and agreement, being mynded rather to continue his enterprises against the com'on enemy to the uttermost then otherwise. Wherfore, seeing that neither the popes holines, ne th'emperor, well regarding the p'misses, could thinke any thing to be done herein but to the best p'pose, I marvailed how the sayd ambassador, to whom the truth and proceeding here is soe well known, could take any colour to excuse his sayd evill reports upon that ground.

“As to the not condisceding to take the truce proposed at Rome before the decease of Mons^r de la Roche, I was sure there was neither th'emperor, ne other that loved the king my master, which reasonably could or would

arrest, default, or blame, in me therein; though I, like a true servant, gave counsaile unto my sayd master to the contrary, considering how much that truce proposed; for a long season, that is to say, foure or five yeares, *rebus stantibus ut tunc steterunt*, should have bene to the extreme losse and prejudice of the king my masters affaires; for, albeit I then sayd & I wrote, and as truth was, such a truce, if it were perpetual, might have bene most beneficial for th'emperor, having in his hands the whole duchie of Mylayn, the seigniory of Jeanes, the citty and territory of Tourney, with Naples, Navarr, and Ffontrabie, delivered from the danger of the frenchmen, being also discharged of the pention of Naples, of the marriage with the french kings dautter, and of all other inconveniences wherunto his majestie was bounden by the treaty of Noyon; the indempnitie also of the kings highnes not answered ne payd; yet, nevertheles, there could nothing be devised more prejudicial and derogatory unto the kings causes and matters; who, by that meanes, having then his preparations in readines for the warrs, should give the enemy time to respire, had nothing wonne or recovered of the things belonging to his graces right and inheritance, had also susteyned and spent excessive charges and treasure, for th'emperors sake in these warrs. There was, furthermore, noe mann' order taken, ne apparence how the sayd indempnitie should be answered. And, finally, nothing of p'fitt or goodnes might or could arise unto his grace from that truce. Wherefore, if I should, for the pleasure of any prince living, have given at the first counsaile unto the kings highnes to accept and agree to the sayd truce, it might have bene well thought I had bene noe good servant or counsailor to his grace, ne I should have acquitted myself according to my most bounden dutie unto his highnes, afore and above all other earthlie princes; but rather, it was expedient that th'emperor, who, by my masters good help, had attained soe many great peeeces, should then somewhat trayne himself in concurring with his highnes, or otherwise, soe that there might be some likelyhood of more

egalitie in the successes of their enterprises, before they should come unto such an unreasonable truce. All this notwithstanding, when the kings grace was advertised, that there was not sufficient ffurniture of money on th'emperors behalfe for the entertaynment of the warrs, and that there began to be some doubt and p'll least the truce not taken, th'affaires of Italie should empaire, the kings highnes, by deliberate advice of me, and other of his privie counsaile, for the tender zeale and affecc'on borne towards th'emperors causes, all the sayd inconveniences that should ensue therby, unto his grace notwithstanding, postponing all his owne matters, was contented, and sent com'ission to Rome, in all possible diligence, for concluding of a truce till May come twelve moneths; which, if it had not bene only for th'emperors sake, and for conservac'on of his honor, his highnes would never have condescended unto. And therefore the sayd ambassador had far overpassed himself, to write, say, or thinke, that by any thing done on this side in refusall of the sayd truce, the emperor had cause to be revenged.

“Over this, as to the not advauncing of an army on this side, as was spoken of, it is well known that the kings highnes at all times plainly declared and determined, that his grace was not mynded, ne would send over any such army that time of the yeare, unles then his grace might be sure of two things: one was, that the army, then being in Province, were passed the river of Rodan, with intent to pierce the hart of th'enemies countries; another was, that the capten generall of the company of horsemen and footemen to be sent by the lady Margaret would condescend to passe into such part of Ffrance as to the kings lieutenant should be thought most convenient. Without which two things the kings grace allwayes expresslie declared, none army should be advanced at that time of the yeare. And over this the kings highnes p'ceived, by relac'on of th'emperors owne ffolkes, that there lacked money on th'emperors part'e for contribuc'on to the sayd army in Province; which was an evident argument, that where it was capi-

tulated that th'emperor should beare the whole contribuc'on after an army were once avanced on this side, the whole enterprises should of likelihood perish in default of money in Province, when the contribuc'on of the halfe was not performed, and consequentlie the army on this side should either be in extreme danger or compelled to returne with reproche, losse, and dishonor, besides the wastfull consumption of treasure. Besides that, the army in Province not passed the river of Rodan, small good or assistance could be given by them unto the army on this side. And the Burgonyons, refusing to promise to passe by such wayes as the kings lieutenant should devise, if they should continually keepe neere to their owne ffrontires, after the accustomed manner, noe great good or profit could arise of that journey. Wherefore, seeing that the sending of the sayd army was never p'mised or intended by the kings grace but under the forme aforesayd, it was thought more expedient for the emperors benefit that the kings highnes should continuallie contribute unto the army in Province, lacking money, rather than sending another on this side, to put both in apparence of extreme danger. And, consequently, the emperor had cause to give most hartie thanks unto the kings highnes, which soe much tendered his affaires, mynding to have contributed unto the sustentac'on of the army in Province all this winter; and to sett forthe some other good enterprises, to their comfort, the beginning of the yeare; and, not to be revenged of these good and friendly deeds, as the sayd de Praet would provoke his majestie to be. And to that intent, after the kings contribuc'on expired, his grace, over and above his convencion sent by the hands of the turku'plier (who was thought a most meete and seacret person for that p'pose), the so'me of 50,000 crownes; appointing that sir John Russell should have received the same at Trent, soe to be conveyed streyt unto the army in Province. Which army, by then the money was come soe farr as Trent, was clearly dissolved, and the money sent into Italie; there to remain in readynes, if any necessity thereof should chaunce

in th'emperors affaires. And, albeit the kings highnes (as the certainty of things done in Italie cannot be here at the first knowne) supposed that good order had bene given by the emperor for defence of the same; and therupon, comanded the sayd some to be returned by exchange. Yet, nevertheless, upon knowledge had that noe word was arrived there from the sayd emperor since the discent of the ffrench king into these parts, the kings highnes, of most hartly and tender mynd towards th'emperor, sent the sayd sir Gregory de Cassalis, depeched with the charges aforesayd; who had also in comandment, that if he might p'ceive th'emperor's army to lack money, he should employ and deliver them the sayd 50000 crowns, by way of loane; and, rather than faile, clearly to give unto them the same. Which som'e, any report made to the contrary notwithstanding, is yet remayning there, in such hands, that albeit practise was made for exchange thereof, wayes be devised how to have the money upon the sight, though the sayd ambassador, after his accustomed sinister interrupc'on, would affirme that the sayd money was sent but for a colour, and that it is totally returned by exchange, which is clearly untrue, as shall appeare. Wherefore his feyned report herein was and is to be taken as proceeding of his perverse fantasie, without ground of reason, truth, or apparence.

“And, as to the contribuc'on of Italy, albeit he knew well that there was never capitulac'on passed betwene the kings highnes and th'emperor for that p'pose, ne his grace knew what the emperor intended to doe therein, or whether the imp'ials solicited by the pope would have come, or yet will come, to a truce, or not; and that also Mons^r de Rieux, at his being here confessed error and untrue demeanor to be in the viceroy of Naples; and that the kings grace hath bene from many good places advertised that there were and yet be practises betwene the ffrench king and the sayd viceroy for appointm^t to be taken with th'emperor, as in my last letters I wrote unto you more at large, soe that his highnes could not certainly knowe by what meanes

assistance should be given to the sayd viceroy ; yet what his grace hath done, by his divers and many letters to sundry parts, and now of late to sir Gregorys depeche, at such time as the sayd emperors affaires in Italy seemed here to be in most despaire, noe man could better testifie and beare record then the sayd ambassadors. Wherfore, to write that I would ascribe the victory, if any were, only to the kings grace, or that I were the cause of all the evill that the emperor hath, or that his majestie doth all things alone, and hath noe cause to give thanks but to God and his owne servants ; and that noe prince can be better served by the viceroy and other then he is ; and that his majestie is little beholden to any his ffreinds and confederates all, whatsoever they be ; and that he trusteth to see his majestie once revenged, or that there were apparence that the kings highnes, for speaking with soe simple a person as John Joachym is, or also with the said president, could finde none other meane, if his grace were soe disposed, but to come unto Bridewell, spetially the sayd president being lodged in a chanons house at Westminster, I could not a little marvaile ; saying that hereby the said ambassador had shewed manifest apparence that he hath a corrupt mynd and perverse intent, studying rather to bring these two princes into jealousie and suspic'on then to nourish good love and intelligence betwene them. To this he could make none other answere but that he wrote his fantasie, remittinge the judgment to wiser men then he is. And, provoked to put in writing such other things as he affirmed he could produce against me, he answered, that this was th' effect of all ; and that when th' emperor shall com'aund him, he will soe doe. Hereupon, having respect unto th'emperor honor, I desired him to forbear writing till such time as he might know further th'emperors pleasure, and semblably his repairing to the kings highnes or to me, unles he had new matter by any letters that should come, saying that the kings highnes and I would advertise.

No. VII.

MARGARET, REGENT OF THE LOW COUNTRIES, TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

“She writes to him of his L^{re}, xx Feb^r, by the kings ambass^r. She is sorie for the discontent he hath received by Mons^r de Praet, the emp^{re} ambass^r; that if it were in her power she would recall him, and have him punished for the least thing he should not * * * * * against his hono^r, w^{ch} she houldes as charye as her owne.”

“Cous^e le legat, mon bon filz, jay par lambassadeur du roy Mons^r et cousin, reçu vos l^{res} du xx Fevrier, et bien lu et antendu leur * * * * * ensemble ou quil ma dit de un parte dont jai reçu merveilleusement grand displeisir mesmes de lenmité en quoy je voy * * * * * tres suspicieux entre de Praet, ambassadeur de lempereur et sans faute moinder. Il y estoit * * * * * par moy intentment le recogneroir au moinder * * * regret q[’] * * * * * et sans tant plus et * * * * * punir ayant fait chose contre v^{re} honneur que voulez garder * * * * * le mien propre et pouves croire certaine & apres avoir * * * * * par effect v^{re} bonne affection et * * * grant zeile envers lempereur et ses affaires ny a * * * * * quy ne font mouvoir sa mag^t ny moy a v^{re} servir ny * * * * * autre que bon et cordiale amy * * * * * si ne fair vouler & sa mag^t quy la expressement veut et entretien * * * * * a ses fraix * * * * * et selon ses * * * * * a la * * * * * v^{re} contentement a quoy je tiendray main il mon * * * * * parquoy vo^y par mon bon filz a v^{re} * * * * * tous les regres & en pourries avoir et non * * * * * de v^{re} bon zeile envers * * *

* * mag^{te} et ses affaires * * * je vous promis quil vo^r tient et * * * * *
 pour et a sa toutall'r confidence en vo^r ces * * * * mal a propos & par
 telz sinistres moyens les amyties entres ces deux jeunes princes veut estes
 lauteur * amoindrissoient: a quoy je suis seur par v're grand prudence et
 bonne volonte. Il aures bien pouvoir garder en * * et toutes choses lhon-
 neur et reputation de sa mag^t, et de ma part en tout de que * * * * *
 emploire pour vous fray offrit et vrai et bonne mere cœur. Jay offrit a noz
 ambassadeurs vous dire plus au long de ma part, et si en ay ainsi bien a plaire
 a vos ambassadeurs annoyeux a quoy.

“Adieu Mons^r le legat, mon bon filz, vo^r donner sa grace. A Brusselles
 le iiij de Ma^rs: de la main de,

“V're bonne mere,

“MARGARET.”

No. VIII.

CARDINAL WOLSEY to the BISHOP OF LONDON and SIR RICHARD WING-
 FIELD, KNT. Ambassadors in Spain.

[Orthography modernized by J. G.]

April 7, 1525.

“My lord of London and Mr. Wingfield, I commend me unto you in
 my right hearty manner. Since your departure from hence arrived here a
 servant of the emperor, sent out of Spain with letters to ambassador de
 Praet, having order given unto him, as he affirmed, incontinently to pass
 unto the lady Margaret. At the dispatch of him out of Spain there was no
 knowledge of the battle stricken in Italy; but, as I may predict by relation
 of the president of Malams, whom by good means I caused to disclose more
 of his secrets unto me than the lord Bevers hath or would do. He said letters

sent unto de Praet mentioned the emperor's desire, that for as much as the french king at that time was in Italy, and to drive him out of the same the kings highness would invade on this side, offering to advance into the parts of Narbonne, on the other side, an army which should be of eight hundred of arms, five hundred light horse, seven thousand Spaniards, and four thousand Almaines, besides the peasants, with artillery and ordnance requisite for the same. And that he would maintain, entertain, and continue his army in Italy, under the leading of the duke of Bourbon and the viceroy, at his own proper costs and charges; and over the same would give aid to the king of three thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, out of his Low Countries. Notwithstanding this the emperor's determination signified to Mons. de Praet, yet I perceive that his ambassadors here resident would first have advertised the lady Margaret hereof, before the king's highness or I should have had any knowledge of the same; to the intent, that whosoever should be concluded herein, she might have all or a great part of the thanks. Which manner of proceeding I by good means have discovered out of the said president apart. To whom I said, that if my lady Margaret will look to have any thank in this behalf, wherein as yet hitherto she hath little or none deserved, but all that is offered is to be ascribed unto the emperor, it shall be well done that she increase the number of three thousand footmen to four thousand, and the one thousand horsemen to three thousand; and, so doing, she shall deserve special thank, advising him and his colleagues, therefore, to solicit the same. And, albeit he thought my lady Margaret might at length be induced thereunto, yet he thought it would be difficile for them to pass with their said aid into any part of Normandy, being so far distant from their frontiers. For avoiding of which difficulty I tould him, that percase the king would personally descend at Calais, with a right good part of his army, sending the residue by sea, to make them enter into Normandy; and for so doing, me thought they could not of reason make any difficulty,

but that their said aid should join with the king's highness and army in his marches of Calais; and so to pass into such places as should be thought unto his grace convenient. Which overture, as I could perceive, not only contented him, but he promised with all diligence to advertise the lady of the same, not doubting but he should have shortly from her upon the premises a good resolution. Of all which the emperor's offers and occasion aforesaid I thought convenient to advertise you, to the intent you might perceive how before the battle stricken the emperor was inclined and disposed.

"Over this there was a clause omitted in your instructions, which is to declare the king's mind, in case the emperor, being contented on this resolution to invade Italy in his own person, will say it should be * * * * * from good conscience to charge him also with entertainment of the duke of Bourbon. Nevertheless, you know that by mouth it was agreed and thought good, that in such case, that if the emperor could in no wise be induced to the said entertainment, the duke of Bourbon should repair unto the said aid of the Low Countries, to have the leading thereof; the same to be in that case somewhat reinforced and increased to a greater number, as to good reason and congruence doth appertain. Which matter, in case of the emperor's invasion, ye shall set forth in degrees; that is to say, first, the emperor to contribute half to the entertainment of the said duke, and the king's grace the other half; so as always the moiety to be borne by the king's grace may be defalked of such money as is due by the emperor unto the king's highness. Secondly, this failing, the king's grace, rather than fail, to beare the whole 300,000 crowns last lent unto the emperor, his majesty supporting the rest; and the same to be paid by the emperor in deduction of the said debt. And, finally, none of these then to come unto the repair of the said duke to the army in the Low Countries, as is aforesaid.

"Finally, I send unto you herewith all the commissions, letters, and copies, that were devised for your dispatch; with those of the king's, the

queen's, and mine own hand. And also an emerald, which my lady princess sendeth to the emperor, whose most humble and cordial recommendations made unto the same, you at the delivery thereof shall say, that her grace hath devised this token for a better knowledge to be had when God shall send them grace to be together, whether his majesty do keep himself as continent and chaste as with God's grace she will. Whereby; you may say, his majesty may see, that her assured love towards the same hath already such a passion in her, that it is also confirmed by jealousy, being one of the greatest signs and tokens of hearty love and cordial affection. And thus I beseech Almighty God to send you good speed and passage. At my palace beside Westminster, the third day of April, 1525.

"Your loving friend,

"T. CARLES, ESQR.

"To my loving friends my Lord Privy Seal
and Sir Richard Wingfield, Knight of
the Order, the King's Ambassadors to
the Emperor."

BOOK V.

No. I.

THE value of the preceding papers will not be questioned; they add materially to the authentic documents of english history; but they are not of a description to please the generality of readers. Instead, therefore, of swelling the volume with more of the public dispatches, I am induced to curtail the original extent of my appendix, and to confine myself to a few notes chiefly relative to literature and science.

The following poem is modernized from Ashmole's "Theatrum Chemicum." It is one of the best in that collection, and, though descriptive of an alchemical process, has considerable poetical merit.

THE HERMIT'S TALE.

In pilgrimage one only thing I found
Of worth in Lemnos, near to Vulcan's shop,
A crystal fountain running under ground,
Between a valley and a mountain's top;
Pleased with this sight, I bid a hermit tell
The story of the place, who there did dwell.

2

Within this vale a hollow dusky cave
There is (quoth he) of great antiquity,
Where plumes of Mars, blue, green, and red, you have,
Torn from his crest for his iniquity ;
The troop of smiths, as he with Venus lay,
Surprised and took him, yet he got away.

3

For as the Cyclops him in triumph brought
To halting Vulcan to receive his doom,
They lifted up his beaver, and found nought
But vacant space and armour in the room ;
Of th' armour then they thought they had good prize,
But working it they found it splinterize.

4

The smiths, amaz'd, finding themselves deluded,
Sat all in council in their master's den,
Deliberating well, at length concluded,
There is no equal war 'twixt God and men ;
Let's find the angry God, and pardon crave ;
Let's give him Venus, our poor selves to save.

5

They sought in heav'n, Mars knew his foot so bad,
He came out there, then one began to tell,
Saturn, turn'd from his throne, a palace had
Not far from thence, hard by the crystal well.
Thither they went, and find two gods alone
Sitting upon a dark but glittering throne.

6

Down fell old Vulcan on his crooked knee,
And said, "Forgive, O mighty God of War,
My servants and myself (once gods as ye),
Then use thy will with Venus, my fair star;"
"Saturn," quoth Mars, "and I must not yet part,
Though she for whom I pardon hath my heart."

7

With this the cuckold, with his sweaty troop,
Went to his forge, and seem'd to make a leg,
At every step, where halting made him stoop,
In thanks to Mars granting what he did beg;
In whose remembrance you shall ever have
Cinders and fetters in that hollow cave.

8

But let me tell you all that then befell:
Jove, seeing this, meaning the smith to right,
Sent down a winged god, he trusted well,
Disguised in habit of a shining light,
Which, to the valley from the hills' high top,
Affrighted all the smiths in Vulcan's shop.

9

A voice was heard from Jove's ambassador,
To summon Mars t' appear before the gods:
With Saturn forth came Venus's paramour;
Thinking with might to get of right the odds,
Downward he came nine miles, they upward four,
All met in mist, he fled, they ne'er went low'r.

10

Vulcan comes hobling up to see what's done,
He finds nor light, nor gods, but other shape ;
To witness of this fact he calls the Sun,
Who straight cries " Murder," and makes haste to 'scape.
Some dying soul groan'd forth, " Apollo, stay,
Help, wise Apollo, ere thou goest away."

11

With this, Apollo, looking round about,
Espies this fountain, knows the voice was here,
And, bowing down to find the party out,
Himself unto himself doth straight appear,
There gazed he, till a sturdy shower of rain
Took fair Apollo from himself again.

12

" Farewell, Apollo," then Apollo said,
" To-morrow, when this storm is fully past,
I'll turn and bring some comfortable aid,
By which I'll free thee ere the latter east ;"
Then did it cry, as if the voice were spent,
" Come, sweet Apollo ;" so it downward went.

13

Vulcan went to his forge, the Sun to bed,
But both were up by times to meet again :
After the storm, next morn, a pale soul dead
Was found at bottom of the clear fountain.
" Smith," said Apollo, " help to lade this spring,
That I may raise to life yonder dead thing."

14

Then Vulcan held Apollo by the heel,
While he lades out the waters of the well,
Bowing and straining made Apollo feel
Blood from his nose, that in the fountain fell;
"Vulcan," quoth he, "this accident of blood
Is that or nought must do this creature good."

15

He spake the word, and Vulcan saw it done:
"Look, Sol," said he, "I see it changeth hue,
Few gods have virtue like to thee, O Sun,
From pale it has become a ruddy blue;"
"Vulcan," quoth Phœbus, "take it to thy forge,
Warm it, rub it, let it cast the gorge."

16

Thus Vulcan did: it spued the waters out,
And then it spake and cried, it was cold;
Then Vulcan stuff'd and clothed it round about,
And made the stone as hot as e'er it would;
Thus fourteen days it sickly did endure,
The Sun came every day to see the cure.

17

As it grew well, the colours went and came;
Blue, black, white, red, as by the warmth and heat,
The humours moved were within the same;
Then Phœbus bid him put it in a sweat;
Which Vulcan plied so well, it grew all red;
Then it was sound, and call'd for drink and bread.

18

"Stay," quoth Apollo, "though it call for meat,
Digestion yet is weak, 'twill breed relapse
By surfeit; therefore, ere you let it eat,
Some little exercise were good perhaps;"
Yet it had broth allow'd the strength to keep,
But when upon its legs it scarce could creep.

19

Sol saw some relics left of th' old disease,
"A solutine," quoth he, "were good to cleanse;"
With which the sickness he did so appease,
Health made the patient seek to make amends,
Who went away three weeks, then brought a stone
That in projection yielded ten for one.

20

This did he lay down at Apollo's feet,
And said, "By saving one thou hast sav'd three;
Which three in this one present jointly meet,
Offering themselves, which are thine own, to thee;
Be our physician, and, as we grow old,
We'll bring enough to make new worlds of gold."

21

With that the hermit took me by the hand,
And led me to his cell: "Lo, here," quoth he,
"Couldst thou but stay, and truly understand
What thou now seest, thou know'st this mystery."
I staid, I saw, I tried, I understood,
A heaven on earth, an everlasting good.

ALCHEMY.

A friend having remarked to me, that the note on Alchemy would have been more complete, had I quoted a few of the best authenticated cases of transmutation, I am induced to resume the subject here. But I request the reader to remember that I am only acting as a historian; of chemistry I am very ignorant, and of the scientific probability or improbability of transmutation I am no judge.

In the year 1680, a translation was published in London of a very curious and amusing story, entitled, "*The truth of the philosopher's stone asserted, having been lately exposed to public sight and sale, being a true and exact account of the manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous projection maker at the emperor's court at Vienna, come by and made away with a great quantity of powder of projection, by projecting with it before the emperor and a thousand witnesses, selling it, &c. for some years past. Published at the request, and for the satisfaction, of several curious and ingenious, especially of Mr. Boyle, &c. By one, who was not only an eye-witness in the affair, but also concerned as a commissioner by the emperor for the examen of it.*" The story of Wenceslaus is told in a lively and pleasant manner, from his discovery of the powder accidentally in a monastery in Bruna, in Moravia, till his arrival at the imperial court. The whole is indeed romantic, and in several points not admissible to credit; but what has made me refer to the work is a notice in the preface that prince Rupert was a witness to a transmutation by projection at Frankfort; and did not question the fairness of the experiment, but only observed, that he doubted if the powder could be prepared with profit. The translator mentions, among other living persons who had been witnesses of the effects of Wenceslaus's powder, count Wallestine, and Dr. Becher, then in London.

John Wolfgang Dienheim, M. D. and professor at Friburgh, mentions, that Alexander Seton, a Scotchman, born in the isle of Mull, and who was alive in 1603, transmuted metals in different parts of Germany. Sendivogius, who ranks very high as an alchemical author, Dr. Soldner says, married the widow of this Seton, and obtained, along with some of the red medicine, many of the alchemist's MSS, which he published as his own works. Dr. Agricola of Leipsic, in his "Commentary on Poppius," page 257, says, that he had seen transmutation performed by a monk in a convent in Italy, who transmuted 2 lbs. of lead into pure gold with a single grain of powder. He also asserts, that, in 1600, he saw at Saltzburgh an Englishman (possibly Seton) transmute a quantity of tin into pure gold, which he himself sent to the mint and had coined into ducats. Markof, in his "Epistle to Langelottus," p. 152, says, "It is universally known that Edward Kelli transmuted metals into gold in the presence of the emperor Rodolphus, and also at Prague, in the house of Thaddeus Hagecius, as you may read in Gassendus's book of metals, chap. vii." The history of sir Edward Kelly is similar in some respects to that of Wincellaus. It was reported, that he, with Dr. Dee, were so strangely fortunate, "as to find a very large quantity of the elixir in some part of the ruins of Glastonbury-abbey, which was so incredibly rich in virtue (being 1 upon 272,330) that they lost much in making projection, by way of trial, before they found out the true height of the medicine."—*Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, page 481, edit. 1652.

Sansimon, who was a tutor to the duke d' Enghein, son of the prince of Condé, when he was sent to Brussels, in 1648, had a powder lent to him, which, by infusion in water, gave the water the power of converting crude mercury into an arborification of pure silver; so says Olaus Borrichius. In the reign of Lewis XIII., a man of the name of Dubois inherited from the heirs of the wife of the celebrated Flamel a small portion of his gold-making powder, with which he made an experi-

ment on lead before the king and cardinal Richelieu, pretending that he had himself discovered the art. Not, however, being able to verify his boast, and his powder being exhausted, the cardinal ordered him to be hanged as an impostor.

But the case of Dr. Price of Guilford, in the year 1782, is the most remarkable of all; and I feel no small degree of satisfaction in being able to throw some light on that very curious transaction. I quote from his own pamphlet the names of the witnesses who were present at his seven different projections. — 1st experiment: present, the rev. Mr. Anderson, a clergyman residing near Guilford, himself an experimental philosopher; the celebrated antiquary, captain Grose, a man of eminent shrewdness; ensign Grose; Mr. Russel, a magistrate of Guilford. — 2d experiment: sir Philip Norton Clarke, Dr. Spence, the rev. Mr. Anderson, capt. Grose, Mr. Russell, and ensign Grose. — 3d experiment: Mr. Anderson, capt. and ensign Grose, and Mr. Russell. — 4th experiment: the same persons. — 5th experiment: the same persons, with the addition of Mr. J. D. Garthwit. — 6th experiment: sir P. N. Clarke, rev. B. Anderson, capt. Grose, Dr. Spence, ensign Grose, Mr. Hallamby, rev. Mr. Manning, Mr. Fulham, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Robeson, and Dr. Spence. — 7th experiment: lord Onslow, lord King, lord Palmerston, sir Robert Barker, sir P. N. Clarke, Mr. Manning, Mr. Anderson, G. Pollen, J. Robeson, Dr. Spence, Wm. Mann Godschall, Wm. Smith, Mr. Godschall, jun., Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Russell. Several of these gentlemen may still be alive; they were all at the time when Dr. Price published his pamphlet. He had the white and red powder, by the projection of either of which upon mercury a greater miracle than mere transmutation was produced:—mercury being kept in a red heat, even a white heat, without either boiling or evaporating! Part of the mercury was found changed into gold or silver, according to the powder employed, in the proportion of twenty to one of the powder employed, and sometimes even as

high as fifty to one. There is no doubt whatever that Price practised some duplicity. In his preface, he insinuates that he made the powders himself. I have heard from one quarter, that he had stated to one of his friends that the powder cost him 17 *l.* sterling per ounce, but whether in its manufacture or purchase, the gentleman who heard this, and told me, could not say.— But what I have now to mention is certainly singular. A friend of my own, who had his information from a person acquainted with Dr. Price and who assisted him in some private experiments, told me, that Price confessed to that person that he had obtained the powders from a foreign gentleman's valet, whom he met with in the Orange coffee-house in the Haymarket; that he gave the valet a present of sixty pounds in consequence; that next day the valet left town for Dover, and in three days after his master also quitted London; that the valet was singularly well educated, and exacted from Dr. Price a most solemn promise never to make a public experiment with either of the powders. The words that Price used after stating this incident were, " I am sorry that I transgressed in this essential point of my promise; but it is now too late to repent." The cause and circumstance of the doctor's death is well known.

In the " *Memoirs of Huet*," translated by Dr. Aikin, page 26, there is an account of a transmutation of metal not dissimilar to some of those which are mentioned in other works. I have to add, in addition to these, that I am acquainted with a gentleman, who has assured me, in the most solemn manner, that some years ago, while he resided in Dublin, he obtained a small quantity of the white powder from a friend who had remarked his incredulity of transmutation, by which he converted a quantity of mercury into a piece of silver, which he submitted to be assayed, and it was found pure and good.

But the art of the alchemists was not confined to the transmutation of metals; some of their experiments were of the opposite kind, as I find by a short pamphlet before me, entitled, " *An historical account of a degradation*

of gold made by an anti-elixir; a strange chemical narrative, by the hon'ble Robert Boyle, 2d edition, 1739." I should mention here, that Boyle's alchemical designation was *Pyrophilus*. — N. B. I had somehow been led to believe, that professor Davy's discoveries had extended to the power of degrading some of the metals, but I find that I have been misinformed.

The following extracts from Studely's translations of Seneca's tragedies, published in 1566, have little else but their antiquity to recommend them. A history of translations from the Classics is a desideratum in english literature. Illustrated with quotations, it would be a curious and amusing work.

MEDEA.

O Gods! whose grace doth guide their ghosts, that joy in wedlock pure;
O Juno! thou Lucina hight, on whom the chary cure
Allotted is of those that groan in painful childbed bands:
O Pallas! by whose heav'nly art sir Typhis' cunning hands
Have learnt to bridle with his helm his newly-framed boat;
Where, with the force of fighting floods, he, breaking, rides afloat:
O God! whose forked mace doth storms in rigour rough appease,
And cause the ruffling surges couch amid the ramping seas:
O Titan! who, upon the swift and whirling hemisphere,
Divides the cheerful day and night, by equal turns t' appear:
O threefold-shapen Hecate! that sendeth forth thy light
Unto thy silent sacrifice that offered is by night,
By whom my Jason sware to me: O heavenly powers all,
And ye on whom Medea may with safer conscience call;

O dungeon dark, most dreadful den of everlasting night !
O damned ghosts ! O kingdom set against the gods aright !
O lord of sad and low'ring lakes ! O lady dire of hell !
Whom though that Pluto stole by force, yet did his truth excel
The fickle faith of Jason's love, that he to me doth bear ;
With cursed throat I conjure you, O grisly ghosts, appear,
Come out, come out, ye hellish hags, revenge this deed so dire ;
Bring in your scratting paws a burning brand of deadly fire,
Rise up ye hidden devilish fiends as dreadful as ye were,
When unto me in wedlock state ye did some time appear,
Work ye, work ye, the doleful death of this new-wedded wife,
And master ye this father in law: deprive of life
King Creon's ruthfull family ; in plunge of passing pain
Tórmént ye me, that on my spouse do wish this woe to reign :
Preserve my Jason's life ; but yet let him be hated out
A muching roguing runnagate, in foreign towns about ;
To pass from door to door with care to beg his needy bread,
Not knowing in what harb'ring place to couch his cursed head :
A banished wretch, disdained of all, and still in fear of life ;
Then let him wish ten thousand times for me again, his wife.

HIPPOLITUS.

To range about the shady woods, beset on every side
With nets, with hounds and toils, I running out at random ride
About the craggy crests of high Cecropes' hill,
With speedy foot about the rocks with coursing wander still.
What under Carpanetus' soil in dale below doth lurke,
Where'er the rivers running swift, their flapping waves do work,

And dash against the beaten banks of Thrias valley low,
And clamber up the slimy cliffs, besmear'd with hoary snow
(That falleth when the western wind from Riphes' mountains blow.)
Here, here away let others wend, where all with lofty head,
The elm displays his branchy arms, the wood to overspread;
Where, as the meadows green do lie, where Zephyrus most mild
But breathes his balmy breath so sweet, to garnish up the wild
With lusty springtide flow'rs, where, as Illissus flow,
Doth fleet upon the icie flakes, and on the pastures low
Mæander sheds his straggling stream, and cheers the fruitless sand
With wrackful wave; you, whom the path on Marathon's left hand,
Doth lead unto the levelled lands, where as the herd of beast
For gnawing forage go to graze, and stalk into their rest;
The rascal deer trip after fast; you thither take your way,
Where clotted hard Acaran first warms southern winds t' obey,
Doth slake the chilling cold unto Hymetus' icie (cliff) clive.
To Alphid's little villages now let some other drive:
That plot, where Sunion surges high do beat the sandy banks,
Where, as the marble sea doth fleet with crooked compact cranks
Unhunted lies too long, withoutten race of any wight,
Who, set agog with hunting brave, in woods doth take delight.
Philippis him allures: her haunts a foamy bristled boar
That doth annoy with ghastly dread the husbandmen full sore:
We know him well; for he it is, foil'd with so many wounds;
But ere they do begin to ope, let slip, let slip your hounds.
But in your leases, sirs, keep by your eager mastiffs yet,
Keep on their collars still, that do their galled necks yfret:
The spartan dogs, eager of prey, and of courageous kind,
That soon can single out their game, whereto they be assigned.

Tie shorter up within your leash: to pastime shall it bring,
That when with yelping noise of hounds the hollow rocks shall ring.
Now let the hounds go find of it, with nostrill good of scent,
And trace unto the oglie den ere dawning day be spent.
While in the dewish stubly ground the prick of deare doth stick;
One bear the toil on cumb'red neck, and some with nets full thick.
Make speed: some with the armed cord by pencil painted red
By slight, and subtile guileful fear shall make the beasts abred:
Look thou to pitch the thirling dart, and thou to try thy might
Shalt cope him with broad boarspear, thrust with hand both left and right.
Thou, standing at receipt, shall chase the roused beasts amain
With holloing: thou with limere sharp undo him being slain.
Grant good success unto thy mate Virago, thou divine,
That secret deserts hast chosen for noble empire thine;
Whose thirled darts with level right do gore the beasts with blood,
That lapps the lukewarm liquor of Arexis' fleeting flood,
And eke the beast that sports itself on frozen Ister's strand;
The ramping lion eke of Geate are chased by thy hand;
And eke the windy-heeled hart in Candy thou dost chace;
Now with more gentle lance thou stick'st the doe that trips apace.
To thee the tyger fierce his diverse-spotted breast doth yield;
The rough shaghairey bogle turns on thee his back in field;
The savage buffes with his branched horns: all things thy quarrels fear,
That to the needy Gasamas in Afric doth appear;
Or else the wild Arabian, enriched by his wood,
Or what the brutish rocks Pyrene understood;
Or else what other beasts do lurke within Arcanus grove,
Or else among Sarmatians in desert fields that rove:

If that the ploughman come to field, that standeth in thy grace,
Into his net the roused beast full surely is to chace,
Do feet in sunder breake the cords, and home he brings the boar
In jotting wayn, when as the hounds with gubs of clottered gore
Besmeared have their grymed snouts ; and then the country rout
To cottages repair in ranks, with triumph all about.
Do, goddess, grant us grace : the hounds already opened have,
I follow must the chace : this gainer way my pains to save,
I take unto the wood.

BOOK VI.

No. I.

Burnet and Fiddes have published so many of the principal documents relative to the divorce of Henry and Katharine, that I think it would be superfluous to trouble the public with any more. The following original letter from the queen to the princess Mary serves to illustrate the simplicity and domestic character of her mind, I have added a letter from Anne Bullen to the cardinal.

Queen KATHARINE to the Princess MARY.

Daughter,—I pray you think not any forgetfulness hath compelled me to keep J. Garles so long from you, and an answer to your good letter; for the which I pray ye would know how I do. I am in that case, that the long absence of the king and you troubleth me. My health is meetly good, and I trust in God he that sent me the last doth it to the best, and will shortly cause the first to come to good effect. And, in the meantime, I am very glad to hear from you, specially when they show me that you are well amended. I pray God to continue it to his pleasure. As for your writing in Latin, I am glad that ye shall *** ** maister Federston; for that shall do you much good to learn by him to write right. And yet sometimes I would be glad when ye do write to maister Federston of your own inditing, when he hath read it that I may see it; for it shall be a great comfort to me

to see you keep your Latin and fair writing. And so I pray you to recommend me to my lady of Salisbury. At Obone (*Holborn*) this Friday night.

Your loving mother,

KATHARINE THE QUEEN.

No. II.

ANNE BOLEYN to Cardinal WOLSEY.

My Lord,—After my most humble commendations, this shall be to give unto your grace, as I am most bound, my humble thanks, for the great pain and travail that your grace doth take, in studying, by your wisdom and great designs, how to bring to pass honourably the greatest wealth that is possible to come to any creature living; and in especial remembering how wretched and unworthy I am in comparing to his highness. And for you, I do know myself never to have deserved by my deserts that you should take this great pain for me; yet daily of your goodness I do perceive by all my friends; and though that I had not knowledge by them, the daily proof of your deeds doth declare your words and writings toward me to be true. Now, good my lord, your discretion may consider as yet how little it is in my power to recompense you, but alonely with my good will; the which I assure you, that after this matter is brought to pass, you shall find me as I am (bound in the meantime to owe you my service); and then, look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it; and, next unto the king's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to be assured to have, and that is, my hearty love, unfeignedly, during my life; and being fully determined, with God's grace, never to change this purpose, I make an end of this my rude and true meant letter, praying our Lord to send you much increase of honour with long life. Written with the hand of her that beseeches your grace to accept this letter as proceeding from one that is most bound to be

Your humble and obedient servant,

ANNE BOLEYN.

BOOK VII.

In order to justify the opinion that I have expressed of the articles of impeachment against the cardinal, it is necessary to republish them.

No. I.

Articles of impeachment exhibited against Cardinal Wolsey.

Modernized by Lord Herbert of Cherburg.

1. Where your grace and noble progenitors within this realm of England, being kings of England, have been so free, that they have had in all the world no other sovereign, but immediately subject to Almighty God in all things touching the regality of your crown of England, and the same pre-eminence, prerogative, jurisdiction, lawfull and peaceable possession, your grace and noble progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed, without interruption of business, therefore by the space of two hundred years and more; whereby your grace may prescribe against the pope's holyness, that he shou'd not, nor ought not to send or make any legate, to execute any authority legantine, contrary to your grace's prerogative within this your realm: now the lord cardinal of York, being your subject, and natural liege born, hath of his high orgullows and insatiable mind, for his own singular advancement and profit, in derogation and to the great emblemishment and hurt of your said royal jurisdiction and prerogative, and the long continuance

of the possession of the same, obtain'd authority legantine : by reason whereof, he has not only hurt your said prescription, but also, by the said authority legantine, hath spoil'd and taken away from many houses of religion, within this your realm, much substance of their goods, and also hath usurp'd upon all your ordinaries, within this your realm, much part of their jurisdiction, in derogation of your prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said ordinaries, prelates, and religious.

2. Also the said lord cardinal, being your ambassador in France, made a treaty with the french king for the pope, your majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the same ; and binding the said french king to abide his order and award, if any controversie or doubt shou'd arise upon the same betwixt the said pope and the french king.

3. Also the said lord cardinal, being your ambassador in France, sent a commission to sir Gregory de Cassalis, under your great seal, in your grace's name, to conclude a treaty of amity with the duke of Ferrara ; without any commandment or warrant of your highness, nor your said highness-advertia'd or made privy to the same.

4. Also the said lord cardinal, of his presumptuous mind, in divers and many of his letters and instructions, sent out of this realm to outward parts, had joyn'd himself with your grace, as in saying and writing, " The king and I wou'd ye shou'd do thus : the king and I do give unto you our hearty thanks : " whereby it is apparent that he us'd himself more like a fellow to your highness than like a subject.

5. Also where it hath ever been accustom'd within this realm, that when noblemen do swear their houshold servants, the first part of their oath hath been, that they shou'd be true liege men to the king and his heirs kings of England : the same lord cardinal caus'd his servants to be only sworn to him, as if there had been no sovereign above him.

6. And also, whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and head, in whom

standeth all the surety and wealth of this realm; the same lord cardinal, knowing himself to have the fowl and contagious disease of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, came dayly to your grace, rownding in your ears, and blowing upon your most noble grace, with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your highness, if God of his infinite goodness had not better provided for your highness: and when he was once healed of them, he made your grace to believe, that his disease was an impostume in his head, and no other thing.

7. Also, the said lord cardinal, by his authority legantine, hath given by prevention, the benefices of divers persons, as well spiritual and temporal, contrary to your crown and dignity, and your laws and statutes therefore provided: by reason whereof, he is in danger to your grace of forfeiture of his lands and goods, and his body at your pleasure.

8. Also, the lord cardinal, taking upon him otherwise than a true counsellor ought to do, hath us'd to have all ambassadors come first to him alone, and so hearing their charges and intents, 'tis to be thought he hath instructed them after his pleasure and purpose, before that they came to your presence, contrary to your high commandment by your grace's mouth to him given, and also to other persons sent to him by your grace.

9. And also the lord cardinal hath practis'd so, that all manner of letters sent from beyond the sea to your highness hath come first to his hands, contrary to your high commandment by your own mouth; and also by others sent to him by your grace: by reason whereof your highness, nor any of your council, had knowledge of no matters but of such as it pleased him to shew them: whereby your highness and council have been compelled, of very force, to follow his devices, which oftentimes were set forth by him under such crafty and covert meanings, that your highness and your council have oftentimes been abus'd, insomuch that when your council have found and put divers doubts and things, which afterwards have ensued; he, to abuse

them, used these words, " I will lay my head that no such thing shall happen."

10. And the said lord cardinal hath practis'd, that no manner of persons, having charge to make espial of things done beyond the sea, should, at their return, come first to your grace, nor to any other of your council, but only to himself: and in case they did the contrary, he punish'd them there for so doing.

11. Also the said lord cardinal hath granted licenses under your great seal for carrying out of grain and other victuals, after the restraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre and singular advantage of him and his servants, for to send thither; as he bare secret favour, without your grace's warrant or knowledge thereof.

12. Also the said lord cardinal us'd many years together, not only to write unto all your ambassadors resident with other princes in his own name, all advertisements concerning your grace's affairs being in their charge: and, in the same his letters, wrote many things of his own mind, without your grace's pleasure known, concealing divers things which had been necessary for them to know; but also caus'd them to write their advertisements unto him; and of the same letters he us'd to conceal, for the compassing of his purpose, many things both from all your other counsellors and from yourself also.

13. And where good hospitals hath been us'd to be kept in houses and places of religion of this realme, and many poor people thereby relieved, the said hospitality and relief is now decay'd and not us'd; and it is commonly reported that the occasion thereof is, because the said lord cardinal hath taken such impositions of the rulers of the said houses, as well for his favour in making of abbots and priors, as for his visitation by his authority legantine: and yet nevertheless taketh yearly of such religious houses such yearly and continual charges, as they be not able to keep hospitality as they were used

to do ; which is a great cause that there be so many vagabonds, beggars, and thieves.

14. And where the same said lord cardinal said before the suppression of such houses as he hath suppress'd, that the possessions of them should be sett to farm among your lay subjects, after such reasonable yearly rent as they shou'd well thereupon live and keep good hospitality : now the demesne possession of the same houses since the suppression of them hath been survey'd, mete, and measur'd by the acre, and be now set above the value of the old rent ; and also such as were farmers by covent seal and copyholders be put out and amoved of their farms, or else compell'd to pay new fine, contrary to all equity and conscience.

15. Also the said lord cardinal, sitting among the lords and others of your most honourable privy council, used himself, that if any man wou'd shew his mind, according to his duty, contrary to the opinion of the said cardinal, he wou'd so take him up with his accustomed words, that they were better to hold their peace than to speak, so that he wou'd hear no man speak but one or two great personages, so that he wou'd have all the words himself, and consum'd much time with a fair tale.

16. Also the said lord cardinal, by his ambition and pride, hath hinder'd and undone many of your poor subjects for want of dispatchment of matters, for he wou'd no man shou'd meddle but himself: insomuch that it hath been affirmed by many wise men, that ten of the most wise and most expert men in England were not sufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he wou'd retain to himself: and many times he deferr'd the ending of matters, because that suiters shou'd attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no small pleasure, that his house might be replenish'd with suiters.

17. Also the said lord cardinal, by his authority legantine, hath us'd, if any spiritual man having any riches or substance, deceas'd, he hath taken their goods as his own, by reason whereof their wills be not perform'd ; and

one mean he had to put them in fear that were made executors to refuse to meddle.

18. Also the said lord cardinal constrain'd all ordinaries in England yearly to compound with him, or else he will usurp half or the whole of their jurisdiction by prevention, not for good order of the diocess, but to extort treasure; for there is never a poor archdeacon in England, but that he paid yearly to him a portion of his living.

19. Also the said lord cardinal hath not only by his untrue suggestion to the pope shamefully slander'd many good religious houses, and good virtuous men dwelling in them, but also suppress'd, by reason thereof, above thirty houses of religion. And where by authority of his bull, he shou'd not suppress any house that had more men of religion in number, above the number of six or seven, he hath suppress'd divers houses that had above the number: And thereupon hath caus'd divers offices to be found by verdict untruly, that the religious persons so suppress'd had voluntarily forsaken their said houses, which was untrue, and so hath caus'd open perjury to be committed, to the high displeasure of Almighty God.

20. Also the said lord cardinal hath examin'd diverse and many matters in the Chancery, after judgment thereof given at the common law, in subversion of your laws, and made some persons restore again to the other party condemn'd that they had in execution by virtue of the judgment of the common law.

21. Also the said lord cardinal hath granted many injunctions by writt, and the parties never call'd thereunto, nor bill put in against them; and by reason thereof divers of your subjects have been put from their lawfull possession of their lands and tenements. And by such means he hath brought the more party of the suiters of this your realm before himself; whereby he and divers of his servants hath gotten much riches, and your subjects suffer'd great wrongs.

22. Also the said lord cardinal, to augment his great riches, hath caus'd divers pardons granted by the pope to be suspended, which cou'd not be reviv'd till the said lord cardinal was rewarded, and also had a yearly pension of the said pardon.

23. Also the said lord cardinal, not regarding your laws nor justice, of his extort power hath put out divers and many farmers of his lands, and also patentees of the archbishoprick of York and of the bishoprick of Winchester, and of the abbey of St. Albans, which had good and sufficient grant thereof by your laws.

24. Also the same lord cardinal, at many times when any houses of religion hath been void, hath sent his officers thither, and with crafty perswasions hath induced them to compromit their election in him; and before he nam'd or confirm'd any of them, he and his servants receiv'd so much great goods of them, that in a manner it hath been to the undoing of the house.

25. Also, by his authority legantine, the same lord cardinal hath visited the most part of the religious houses and colleges of this your realm, and hath taken from them the twenty-fifth part of their livelyhood, to the great extortion of your subjects, and derogation of your laws and prerogative, and no law hath been to bear him so to do.

26. Also, when matters have been near a judgment by process of your common law, the same lord cardinal hath not only given and sent injunctions to the parties, but also sent for your judges, and expressly by threats commanded them to deferr the judgment, to the evident subversion of your laws, if the judges wou'd so have ceas'd.

27. And whereas neither the bishop of York, nor Winchester, nor the abbey of St. Albans, nor the profit of his legation, nor the benefit of the Chancery, nor his great pension out of France, nor his wards and other inordinate taking, cou'd suffice him, he hath made his son Winter to spend seven

and twenty hundred pounds by the year, which he taketh to his own use, and giveth him not past two hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

28. Also, whereas the said lord cardinal did first sue unto your grace to have your assent to be legate de latere, promising and solemnly protesting before your majesty, and before the lords both spiritual and temporal, that he wou'd nothing do nor attempt by the virtue of his legacie contrary to your gracious prerogative or regality, or to the dammage or prejudice of the jurisdiction of any ordinary, and that by his legacie no man shou'd be hurt nor offended; and upon that condition, and no other, he was admitted by your grace to be legate within this your realm: this condition he hath broken, and is well known to all your subjects. And when that he made this promise, he was busie in his suit at Rome to visit all the clergy of England both exempt and not exempt.

29. Also, upon the suit of the said lord cardinal at Rome to have his authority legantine, he made untrue surmise to the pope's holiness against the clergy of your realm; which was, that the regular persons of the said clergy had given themselves in *reprobum sensum*; which words St. Paul, writing to the Romans, applied to abominable sin; which slander to your church of England shall for ever remain in the register at Rome against the clergy of this your realm.

30. Also the said lord cardinal had the more part of the goods of Dr. Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, bishop Savage of York, master Dalbye archdeacon of Richmond, master Tonyers, Dr. Rothall, late bishop of Durham, and of Dr. Fox, late bishop of Winchester, contrary to their wills, and your laws and justice.

31. Also, at the Oyer and Terminer of York, proclamation was made that every man shou'd put in their bills for extortion of ordinaries: and when divers bills were put in against the officers of the said lord cardinal of extortion, for taking twelvecence of the pound for probation of testaments,

whereof divers bills were found before justice Fitz Herbert and other commissioners, the said lord cardinal removed the said inditelements into the Chancery by certiorari, and rebuk'd the said Fitz Herbert for the same cause.

32. Also the said lord cardinal hath busied himself, and endeavour'd by crafty and untrue tales to make dissention and debate amongst your nobles of your realm, which is ready to be prov'd.

33. Also the said lord cardinal's officers hath divers times compell'd your subjects to serve him with carts for carriage, and also his servants hath taken both corn and cattle, fish, and all other victual, at your grace's price, or under, as tho' it had been for your grace, which is contrary to your laws.

34. Also the said lord cardinal hath misus'd himself in your most honourable court, in keeping of as great estate there in your absence, as your grace wou'd have done if you had been there present in your own person.

35. Also, his servants, by virtue of your commission under your broad seal by him to them given, have taken cattle and all other victual, at as low a price as your purveyors have done for your grace by your prerogative, against the laws of your realm.

36. Also, where it hath been accustom'd, that your purveyors for your honourable household have had yearly out of your town and liberty of St. Albans three or four hundred quarters of wheat; truth it is, that since the lord cardinal had the room of abbot, your said purveyors cou'd not be suffer'd by him and his officers to take any wheat within the said town or liberties.

37. Also, he hath divers times given injunction to your servants, that have been for causes before him in the Star Chamber, that they, nor other for them, shou'd make labour by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, to your grace, to obtain your grace's favour or pardon, which was a presumptuous intent for any subject.

38. Also the said lord cardinal did call before him sir John Stanley knight, which had taken a farm by covent-seal of the abbot and covent of

Chester, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to right, committed the said sir John Stanley to the prison of Fleet by the space of one year, unto such time as he compell'd the said sir John to release his covent-seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which married one Lark's daughter, which woman the said lord cardinal kept, and had with her two children *: where, upon the said sir John Stanley, upon displeasure taken in his heart, made himself monk in Westminster, and there died.

39. Also, on a time your grace being at St. Albans, according to the ancient custom us'd within your verge, your clerk of the mercat doing his office, did present unto your officers of your most honourable houshold the prices of all manner of victuals within the precinct of the verge. And 'twas commanded by your said officers to set up the said prices both on the gates of your honourable houshold, and also within the market place in the town of St. Albans, as of ancient custom it hath been us'd. And the lord cardinal, hearing the same, presumptuously, and not like a subject, caus'd the aforesaid prices, which were seal'd with your grace's seal, accustomedly us'd for the same, to be taken off, and pull'd down in the said market place where they were set up, and in the same places set up his own prices seal'd with his seal, and wou'd, if it had not been letted, in semblable manner have us'd your seal standing upon your gates: and also would of his presumptuous mind have openly set in the stocks within your said town your clerk of your market: by which presumption and usurpation your grace may perceive, that in his heart he hath reputed himself to be equal with your royal majesty.

40. Also the said lord cardinal, of his further pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterpriz'd to joyn and imprint the cardinal's hat under your

* I have not been able to learn what became of his son; but by a letter in the British Museum his daughter appears to have been a nun in a convent in Shaftesbury.

arms in your coin of groats made at your city of York, which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any subject within your realm before this time.

41. Also, where one sir Ed. Jones, clerk, parson of Crowley, in the county of Bucks, in the eighteenth year of your most noble reign, let his said parsonage, with all tythes and other profits of the same, to one William Johnson, by indenture for certain years, within which years the dean of the said cardinal's college in Oxford pretended title to a certain portion of tythes within the said parsonage, supposing the said portion to belong to the parsonage of Chichelly, which was appropriated to the priory of Tykeford lately suppress'd, where (of truth) the parsons of Crowley have been peaceably possess'd of the said portion time out of mind; whereupon a subpoena was directed to the said Johnson to appear before the said lord cardinal at Hampton-court, out of any term, with an injunction to suffer the said dean to occupy the said portion. Whereupon the said Johnson appear'd before the said lord cardinal at Hampton-court, where, without any bill, the said lord cardinal committed him to the Fleet, where he remain'd by the space of twelve weeks, because he wou'd not depart with the said portion. And, at the last, upon a recognizance made that he shou'd appear before the said lord cardinal whensoever he was commanded, he was deliver'd out of the Fleet; howbeit as yet the said portion is so kept from him that he dare not deal with it.

42. Also, where one Martin Docowra had a lease of the mannor of Balsall, in the county of Warwick, for term of certain years, an injunction came to him out of the Chancery by writ, upon pain of a thousand pounds, that he shou'd avoid the possession of the same mannor, and suffer sir George Throckmorton knight to take the profits of the same mannor to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the lord of St. John's and the said Docowra was discuss'd. And yet the said Docowra never made answer in the Chancery, ne ever was call'd into the Chancery for that matter; and

now of late he hath receiv'd a like injunction upon pain of two thousand pounds, contrary to the course of common law.

43. Also, whereas in the parliament chamber, and in open parliament, communication and devices were had and mov'd, wherein mention was by an incident made of matters touching heresies and erroneous sects: it was spoken and reported by one bishop there being present, and confirm'd by a good number of the same bishops, in presence of all the lords spiritual and temporal then assembled, that two of the said bishops were minded and desir'd to repair unto the university of Cambridge for examination, reformation, and correction, of such errors as then seem'd, and were reported to reign among the students and scholars of the same, as well touching the lutheran sect and opinions as otherwise: the lord cardinal, inform'd of the good minds and intents of the said two bishops in that behalf, expressly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to do. By means whereof, the same errors, as they affirm'd, crept more abroad, and took greater place; saying, furthermore, that 'twas not in their defaults that the said heresies were not punished, but in the said lord cardinal, and that 'twas no reason any blame or lack shou'd be arrected to them for his offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said lord cardinal, besides all other his heinous offences, hath been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of heresies, being highly to the danger and peril of the whole body, and good christian people of this your realm.

44. Finally, forasmuch as by the aforesaid articles is evidently declar'd to your most royal majesty, that the lord cardinal, by his outrageous pride, hath greatly shadowed a long season your grace's honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and, by his insatiable avarice and ravenous appetite to have riches and treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppress'd your poor subjects with so manifold crafts of bribery and extortion, that the commonwealth of this your grace's realm is thereby greatly decay'd and im-

poverish'd: and also by his cruelty, iniquity, affection, and partiality, hath subverted the due course and order of your grace's laws to the undoing of a great number of your loving people.

Please it your most royal majesty therefore, of your excellent goodness towards the weal of this your realm, and subjects of the same, to set such order and direction upon the said lord cardinal, as may be to the terrible example of others to beware so to offend your grace and your laws hereafter: and that he be so provided for, that he never have any power, jurisdiction, or authority, hereafter, to trouble, vex, and impoverish, the commonwealth of this your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and damage of every man almost high and low, which for your grace so doing will daily pray, as their duty is, to Almighty God for the prosperous estate of your most royal majesty, long to endure in honour and good health, to the pleasure of God, and your heart's most desire.

Subscrib'd the first day of December, the 21st year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry the eighth.

T. MORE.

T. NORFOLK.

C. SUFF.

T. DORSET.

H. OXON.

JOHN OXONFORD.

H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

G. SHREWSBURY.

R. FITZWATER.

T. ROCHFORD.

T. DARCY.

W. MOUNTJOY.

W. SANDYS.

W. FITZWILLIAM.

HENRY GULDEFORD.

ANTHONY FITZHERBERT.

JOHN FITZJAMES.

No. II.

Copy of a letter to Mr. CROMWELL, in relation to a bastard daughter of Cardinal Wolsey's, in the nunnery of Shaftsbury.

Rygthe hon'able,—Aft'r most humbyll comendacyons, I lykewyse beseeche you, that the contents of this my symple lett. may be secret, and that for asmyche as I have grete cause to goo home, I beseeche your good mast'ship'e to comand Mr. Herytag to give atendans opon your mast'ship'e for the knowlege of your plesure in the sayd secrete mat', whiche ys this; my lord cardinall causyd me to put a yong gentyll woman to the monystery and nu'ry off Shafftysbyry, and there to be p'fessyd, and wold hur to be namyd my doythter, and the troythe ys, she was his dowythter, and now by yo^r. visitacyon she hathe comawymment to dep'te, and knowythe not whether; wherefore I humbly beseeche youre mast'ship'e to dyrect yo^r. letter to the abbas there, that she may there co'tynu, at hur full age to be p'fessid.

W'towte dowyte she ys ether xxiiij yere full, or shalbe at shuche tyme of the yere as she was boren, which was abowyte Myclelmas. In this yo^r. doying, yo^r. mastership'e shall do a very charitable ded, and also bynd hur and me to do you suche s'vyce as lythe in owre lytell powers, as knowythe owre Lord God, whome I humely beseeche p'sperysly and longe to p's've you.

Your orator,

JOHN CLUSEY.

To the rygthe hon'abull and his most
especiall good Mr. Master Cromell,
secretary to owre sov'an' the Kyng.

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FINIS.

(ccxxxiii)

ERRATA.

- Page v. of Preface, line 19, for "belonged" read "belong."
— 41, line 26, for "cause" read "course."
— 76, line 5, for "their opinions" read "their own opinions."
— 114, line 12, for "influenced" read "enhanced."
— 142, line 2, after "throw" read "lost it and."
— 172, line 2, for "just matter of complaint" read "matter of just complaint."
— 197, line 3, for "destroy" read "destroying."
— 223, line 22, for "oppose" read "appease."
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